THE CHINA WEEKLY REVIEW

密勒氏評論報

A Weekly Newspaper Established In 1917

September 20, 1947

SKEPTICISM ABOUNDING

AN EDITORIAL

Russians Walk Softly In Dairen

Anna Louise Strong

"China Broadcasting"

Bill Conine

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GERMANY & JAPAN

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VOLUME 107 PRICE CNC$6,000 NUMBER 3

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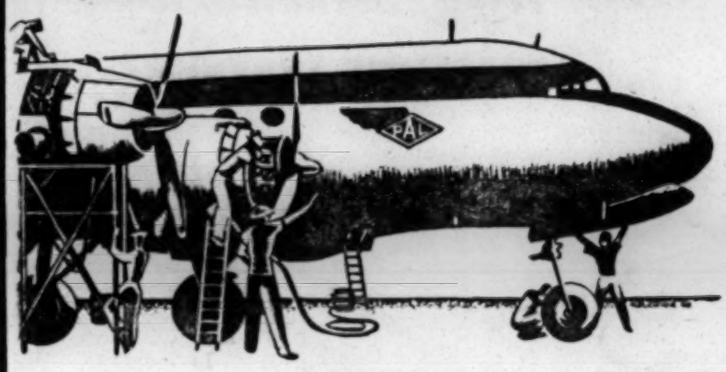

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LETTERS From The People

Comments from readers on current topics are cordially invited: their opinions, however, do not necessarily represent the views of The China Weekly Review.

Conscription

To The Editor:

With the spreading of the Civil War, the general mobilization order and the determination of the National Government to exterminate the Communists, national conscription is now urgently and strongly enforced everywhere in the Government controlled areas, except a few big cities, such as Shanghai. Since September, each pao has been made to hand in four able-bodied young men instead of one, as regulated previously. The chief of pao, needless to say, will be responsible for that. Living in Shanghai and leading a nice and comfortable city life, one can never realize how the poor peasants are being pushed into the war.

This writer has just returned from Chungming, an island about 120 miles from Shanghai, where he stayed three days and witnessed the carrying out of the conscription order. For two nights, during his stay, the chief of each pao accompanied by several armed guards, in the depth of night when all were fast asleep, intruded into the houses of those young men who were on their conscription list. Without any explanation, they took away by force the wanted men, and the old in case the young ones were concealed, the rooms in disorder and the women weeping, crying, cursing and shouting to themselves. There was no excuse for being the sole son or having no son at all. These young peasants were sent away immediately to Shanghai and from there into the fire, so to speak.

At the time of the autumn harvest, the life of the peasantry is hard, and it is imaginable how bitter is the peasants' reaction to the so-called national conscription. They have never been squeezed and oppressed so much as they are today and they never suffered so bitterly.

"It is a time very similar to that at the end of the Ching Dynasty," said an old friend of mine who is a man of 70. He has witnessed the death of the Ching Dynasty and the rise of the Chinese Republic and he seems to be very interested in the lot of the latter.

SENG WEI.

Shanghai,
September 11, 1947.

There Is Hope

To The Editor:

I was very glad when I learned that Gen. Wedemeyer was on his way to China on a fact-finding mission. It meant that the United States may reconsider its foreign policy in the Far East.

If China were a strong, united, peaceful and democratic country, it would have been the leading nation in Asia; it would have made use of the U.S. support in her postwar reconstruction and rehabilitation, while by doing so, it would, in return, aid U.S. commerce in China.

But the Civil War in China broke out right after V-J Day.

I remenbered that Gen. Marshall came to China in 1945, as the special envoy of President Truman, with the hope of stop-

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(Editor & Publisher, 1918-1947)

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Index for September 20, 1947

Editorial Paragraphs

Skepticism Abounding 69
Good Example 70
Short Comment In CNC 70
International Glass House 70
Germany & Japan 72

Special Articles

Singapore Politics Mirror China Strife ..... *John W. Powell* 74
Leftists Driven Underground In South Korea ..... *Hugh Deane* 75
Russians Walk Softly In Dairen ..... *Anna Louise Strong* 76
What Tojo's Cellmates are Thinking—IV ..... *David Conde* 77
A Glossary Of Indian Politics ..... *Harin Shah* 78
"Miracle Men" Of North Kiangsu ..... *Robert L. Cook* 80
Time Said Running Out On Production Pacts ..... *J. R. Kaim* 81
"China Broadcasting" ..... *Bill Conine* 82
Commodity Prices Register Hikes 85

Departments

Letters From The People 61
25 Years Ago 73
News Of The Week 87
What U.S. Papers Say 88
Who's Who In China 88
What Chinese Papers Say 89
New Books Of Interest 90

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ping the internal fire in China as a mediator. He succeeded in the beginning; the Political Consultative Conference was called; the three-man Executive Headquarters was set up, etc. In a word, his first step was very succeesful. If he had kept on working, basing his actions on Truman's declaration of Dec. 15, 1945, he probably would have succeeded. But he failed finally owing to the fact that on both sides, the reactionary forces would not make concessions and also because the general himself did not know enough of China. He returned home early this year without any success. Since then, the U.S. foreign policy toward China has been undecided; whether the U.S. should support the National Government on a large scale or whether it should wait till the latter has made some reforms.

Since June 31, the deadline of the US$-500,000,000 loan to China, the Chinese situation has become worse. The National Government began to feel a little impatient at the puzzle of U.S. policy toward China. Dr. Sun Fo, vice president of the Chinese Government, warned that the U.S. should not take such a wait-and-see policy, for China may then go to the side of the Soviet Union.

Now Gen. Wedemeyer had been to China. No one knows what kind of fact-finding he had done but in his parting statement, he pointed out the prevalent corruption and inefficiency of the government officials. He said China should try to help herself instead of asking help from others.

No matter what the other's idea is about his mission, in my opinion, I think his mission was very successful. It brings hope to China. If China accepts Gen. Wedemeyer's advice, she can become a strong, united, peaceful and democratic nation, like her wartime ally, the United States.

C. Y. WU.

Nantun, Kwangsi,
September 3, 1947.

Fertilizer For China

(The following letter was submitted to General Wedemeyer in the course of his fact-finding mission here—EDITOR.)

To The Editor:

During this post war period of reconstruction, the United States has sought to bring effective aid to China. Although there are many methods of aiding China in her task of reconstruction, it is my belief that there is one method which should not be overlooked when planning for future aid, namely, the supply of fertilizer to the farmers.

We missionaries who have worked for many years in rural China, coming into close contact with the farmers, realize that the Chinese farmers' greatest threat is famine. The most effective way to free China from this threat is to supply fertilizer. Today many of China's farmers are poor; and the great majority are unable to secure the fertilizer essential for the cultivation of their crops. If sufficient fertilizer were made available, I am told that food production could be increased by more than 30 percent. As a result of inadequate fertilization during the long war years, many fields have lost much of their fertility. If the proper amount of fertilizer were used on such fields, production of food might be increased as much as 100 percent. Only in this way can the present condition of the farmer be improved. And from one point of view, one might say that rural reconstruction is the foundation of all other reconstruction. Unless the farmer is able to secure more fertilizer, his burden will become increasingly heavy. Such a condition would greatly detract from the beneficial effects of the aid the United

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States has already given China since the close of the war.

There are two methods of supplying fertilizer to China: 1) The loan of money or machinery to facilitate construction of factories for the manufacture of commercial fertilizer; or the encouragement given to foreign companies to invest capital in the construction of such factories. 2) The actual shipment of fertilizer to China from the U.S. The former method is basic for the final solution of the problem; but this will take time before the farmer benefits. The latter method has the advantage of meeting the immediate need. In my opinion, among any nondurable goods which might be given or loaned to China, fertilizer will bring the greatest benefit to the largest number of people.

The question now arises, what is the best way to get the fertilizer into the hands of the farmers themselves? UNRRA has rendered valuable aid to China through the supply of commercial fertilizer. Upon reaching the coast of China this fertilizer has been turned over to the Farmer's Bank for distribution to the farmers who pay only for transportation costs. And these charges need not be paid until 10 months after receipt of the fertilizer; and only a very low rate of interest is charged on the loans. Thus, poor farmers are able to secure fertilizer at no expense to them until after harvesting their crops. The system of distribution employed by the Farmer's Bank is strict and efficient. Upon receipt of an application from a farmers' organization or individual, the Bank sends an inspector to investigate. Only after the investigation proves that the applicant is qualified for a loan and has applied for the right amount based upon his farm acreage, is the loan granted. At a designated period of time after delivery of the fertilizer, a second inspector is sent to inspect the use of the fertilizer. And finally, at a later date another will investigate results.

The Farmer's Bank exists for the purpose of serving the farmers. Here, in Swatow, I have seen evidence of its spirit of service. I have been favorably impressed with the speed and efficiency with which the Farmer's Bank has adminstered UNRRA fertilizer. This bank, with its branches all over China, is in a good position to bring this much needed aid to farmers. At this point I should like to testify to my recent experience. Having heard that the Swatow Branch of the Farmer's Bank had fertilizer with which to aid farmers, the general secretary of our Baptist Convention called on the bank authorities to inquire if fertilizer might be made available to our Christian farmers. He was received courteously by the manager and the man in charge of loaning fertilizer. They said that the bank was interested in doing this if our church organization could assist them in this aim. Forthwith a committee was formed to cooperate with the Farmer's Bank and each church was notified that its farming members could apply for fertilizer. This fertilizer was loaned upon the recommendation and guaranty of our central church organization. In granting our church this privilege, the Bank received no benefit; and it did not come as a result of pull. In fact when application was made, our general secretary was not even acquainted with the bank authorities. Evidently, this bank is sincerely interested in rendering effective aid to the farmers who need it. I can see no other explanation of their behavior. However, I am in no position to make sweeping generalizations about the work of the Farmer's Bank all over China, but I can testify to my own limited experience. Certainly, I do believe that this bank is the organization best qualified to undertake the distribution of fertilizer in China.

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In conclusion may I say that it is my sincere hope that whether in terms of relief or loans, the United States will continue to supply China with urgently needed fertilizer and also help to furnish China with the means of manufacturing her own commercial fertilizer. It is my conviction that this is one of the most effective and beneficial methods of assisting China in the difficult task of reconstruction.

CARL M. CAPEN.

Swatow, Kwangtung,
September 10, 1947.

Rural Education

To The Editor:

For a number of years, I have held my teaching as a solemn enterprise dear to my heart and steadfastly stuck to my lofty profession with firm conviction, though sometimes, I cannot but grumble a little at the present chaotic situation. When I returned to my native town for my holidays from Shanghai and other places where I taught, I was usually greeted with great warmth by my elderly relatives as well as some old friends. They looked at me with concern and esteem, expressing their fondest wish that I should stay at home to take a good rest, asking my advice on their children's education and hoping that their youngsters could study in my school after their graduation from primary school. To all these I gave my sincere advice. I was very grateful for their kindness and favor, and could not help feel a little proud as a young man to be so highly esteemed and praised.

Following the kind wish of the elders, I started to work in my native town against the opposition of my former professors and colleagues. I worked very hard, and as a number of students are children of my relatives as well as of my old friends, I taught with special care. But it gradually turned out that all my assiduous labor failed to evoke favorable attention on the part of these elders. They showed no concern over the bad records of their children. However, they talked of the nation's education as if they knew everything; they showed contempt for the local education as well as local teachers. They said that only those who are unable to achieve anything, work in their native villages and that if their children were intelligent enough, they would send them to study in the big cities. Meanwhile, they were occupied with playing mahjong, sitting around in the tea house or wine shop. Deep in their hearts, they were not willing to send their children to study in the big cities owing to the high tuition fees, though they talked of it all the same.

In occasional contact with me, they would oftentimes begin their conversation by asking me where I usually take my tea. Being a poor teacher, I have never had time and money to sit around in the tea house, but have my tea while working.

"China's moon is not as bright as the moon in the U.S.A." Local education is not as good as in the big cities. As I have mentioned, for a number of years I have stuck to my lofty profession, but now I can't but feel a little disappointed. Under such conditions without any encouragement and constructive criticism from the general public, how can one do anything of value to this particular society inspite of being taxed in vigor and physical health, and how can any reconstruction occur in the rural regions, which are the embodiment of real China.

T. W. LOH.

Changshu, Kiangsu,
September 5, 1947.

UNRRA Sketch

To The Editor:

Wedemeyer's group has blamed inefficient Chinese Government functionaries for their mishandling of UNRRA materials, but the following story told to me by my brother who is working at the plant concerned should be of some interest:

"There is a big machinery plant just a few miles from your school, easily located by high crane booms, whirling dust and the roar of busy vehicles. I don't know exactly to whom the plant belongs, but it seems that all important top positions have been reserved for UNRRA personnel. At the beginning, all heads of departments were Chinese with some UNRRA men as advisors, then all foreigners were elevated to superintendent class regardless of qualifications, past experience or ability. Day after day, foreigners are coming to the plant to take the top posts. 'Advisors' are now filling high positions and have 'yes or no' powers. Their theory is that since everything comes from UNRRA, the plant should be controlled by them. Furthermore, all foreigners are, more or less, 'experts' in some field so they are bound to become superintendents and bosses over all Chinese engineers.

"These UNRRA men, being big shots, are paid very high salaries, while the Chinese staff gets only the 'tail part' of their pay. Practically all of the former are allotted jeeps, weapons carriers or whatever transportation the plant affords, while the Chinese staff has to ride in uncovered, bumpy FWDs. The UNRRA men are billeted in a beautifully comfortable house, with steam heating, lounges and amusement rooms, while the Chinese are packed into Quonset huts. The former sit in their offices smoking, telling G.I. stories, discussing ways of

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There is a point, of course, where a man must take the isolated peak and break with all his associates for clear principle; but until that time comes he must work, if he would be of use, with men as they are. As long as the good in them overbalances the evil, let him work with them for the best that can be obtained.

—Theodore Roosevelt.

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raising money and exchanging views on how stupid and blockheaded the Chinese are. Some express the opinion that the Chinese will never understand how to operate the marvelous American equipment because of their intolerable foolishness!

"On the whole, their life is undoubtedly an easy one. During office hours they boast of how they are actually building China up all over again. They 'instruct' the Chinese on how to use those millions of dollars worth of material in the most economical way on the one hand, while they take pipes, iron and lumber to decorate their lovely overseas homes on the other. One ex-Army Sergeant pointed to a gasoline tank and 'instructed' a Chinese mechanic that every drop of the gasoline was priceless, and then pounded the table before a Chinese fuel issuing clerk and said: 'I want gasoline for my motor cycle and I have got to have it,' ignoring the usual procedure laid down by the plant authorities. Later that day, this gentleman was absent from the office displaying his shining UNRRA motor cycle along the streets of Shanghai driving a really sweet Chinese bar girl.

"One 'foolish' foreigner told me frankly that he wished to stay in China for several years because he has a better position and more prestige than he would have in his own home land. Best of all, he gets much more money. He is proud of being 'loved' by a 'decent' Chinese girl and uses 'the expression 'ting-hao' for Chinese food.

"We don't mind these foreigners having a comfortable life in China provided they really do something for us. We don't want a bunch of fortune hunting 'advisors' who cheat us and ruin our reputation. They are supposed to be helping the Chinese not controlling us! They have come to relieve our troubles not to gold dig in this 'wonderful' land. For Heaven's sake send us some really good engineers of whom we are badly in need!"

Y. M. LI.

Shanghai,
September 10, 1947.

Send The GIs?

To The Editor:

The U.S. Government has a great yearning for peace in China, but her policy is too gentle and tender. Advice, statements and warnings will have no effect on this group of greedy, incompetent and corrupt officials. By such a policy of "wait-and-see," we Chinese people suffer. Should the U.S. Government wish to save us this time, she must change her tactics.

The real reorganization of our Government must be accomplished by force. What force? The U.S. Government should land armed forces in all Government occupied areas as soon as possible and arrest all those reactionary and bureaucratic officials, and allow the liberal, energetic and patriotic elements to rise up. The rotton ones should be purged.

This is the simplest and shortest way to save us from "water and fire." Hesitate not! History will prove that this is the greatest and most beneficial action.

S. L. H.

Shanghai,
September 8, 1947.

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To The Editor:

I am greatly pleased to find Gen. Wedemeyer's letter in acknowledgement of my present of copies of the *Review* appearing in your August 9 issue.

On two counts at least, I think Gen. Wedemeyer is worthy of being our friend. First, he is now one of the readers of the *Review;* second, he has even gone to the extent of sponsoring the spreading of the *Review*, which, to my judgement, means he favors the views expressed in this magazine.

The amount of CNC$30,000 would be worth the whole world, if this initial money should lead finally to the enlightenment of the policy makers of the U.S., and to a modification of her reactionary policy, so that millions and millions of lives and properties would be saved from China's Civil War and, consequently, a third World War averted.

Furthermore, if through the suggestions and good offices of the General, a genuine liberal, democratic and united Chinese government, based on the spirit of PCC, with a majority of college professors in the senate, should be brought to light, the name A. C. Wedemeyer would live in the hearts of the Chinese people—and down in history—forever, which honor just slipped through the fingers of Gen. Marshall.

I am crossing my heart that God (my ideal God) will give the General strength and wisdom to accomplish this enviable and historic mission in the long run.

A WEDEMEYER FRIEND TO BE.

Shanghai,
September 9, 1947.

Have Confidence!

To The Editor:

In dark and terrible times such as prevail in China today, there are many complaints and cries everywhere in this country. However what we should do is to face realities and have confidence. We should refuse to accept misinformation

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and self-deceit as Mrs. Fitch has done, and as many official papers are doing now. We should observe closely how things really are, classify them and analyze the right and wrong. It is undeniable that the condition is very desperate but not so desperate as to have China under the leadership of the United States. China has not reached the absolutely irremediable stage. It is in an era of awakening; the Chinese masses are still forceful. The bloodshed struggle may be most painful and cause much suffering, but the future is bright and optimistic. Whoever has the perseverance to fight, should have confidence.

We agree in some points with Mr. Lee Yee Yuen's accusations, but his suggestions often betray his perplexity. The Chinese people are known as one of the most industrious and independent peoples in the world. We should keep our house in order by ourselves, so we can enjoy it. The feeling of self-depreciation is a dangerous thing. It is not fit, especially just before a "new revolutionary movement."

Those who have complaints to utter, I hope, first take a look at reality and the overwhelming force of the Chinese masses. It may enlighten and encourage their confidence and fighting will. When the grey depression so deeply occupies the minds of many Chinese intellectuals, it is very important to wipe it out from their hearts. Then, all Chinese will rise in the great wave of reform or revolution.

E. H. Y.

Shanghai,
September 15, 1947.

Foulness Within

To The Editor:

When I first came to Taiwan I spent a considerable time touring the island and visiting such places as Taichung, Tainan, Cayu, Kaoyun, etc., before settling down to my job as teacher in a middle school. In my journeyings I met many people and found that they were not quite as happy as they had been under the Japanese occupation, having watched the corruption, nepotism and self interest practiced by the mainlanders. Therefore it is much feared that the February Riots were not the finish, and unless the nefarious turpitudes of the Chinese officials is done away with this green island may again be plunged into terror.

During my ramblings, I kept in close contact with a number of Taiwanese who were suffering directly from economic pressure. They raised three points when giving vent to their indignation, namely:

1) "Dr. Wei is not fitted for the post of Civil Governor of Taiwan. Certainly he is an impressive figure, pipe in mouth, but under such circumstances it is ability not eloquence, progress not procrastination that we yearn for day and night."

2) "The immediate cessation of the transportation of rice and sugar to other districts is what we hope for. Whether or not our authorities will act according to our demands is questionable." It need hardly be repeated that we have just been liberated from the Japanese yoke and hanker very much after a breathing spell, but things are not turning out as we had hoped when the Japanese surrendered to the Allies."

3) "From present and past indications, China lacks experts in all respects, with the result that those Japanese experts, with beauty without and foulness within, often pride themselves on their skill and hold their own easily, leading a comfortable life. Plainly speaking, we Taiwanese would be able to keep everything in working order ourselves, but unfortunately the ruling class here think of us as good for nothing. This is really why we feel all is up with us."

I was very shocked to hear these opinions. For the good of the Taiwanese and the Chinese, to avoid further unrest, to ensure a prosperous future and to bring about an abrupt halt to the revivification of our past enemy, the Civil War should be stopped—the sooner the better.

F. C.

Taipeh, Taiwan,
September 3, 1947.

Japan Treaty

To The Editor:

Timidity is one of the major virtues of Government controlled papers when speaking on the subject of the peace treaty with Japan. Being anti-Communist in nature and by decree, these papers feel that what MacArthur has been doing in Japan is not exactly the right thing for China, yet they persist in saying that the Japanese peace treaty has not been written as yet becasue of the "intransigence of Russia."

The *Shun Pao*, which considers itself an objective paper because it sometimes criticizes the "economic plans" of the Government, in an editorial on September 12, started out by saying that it has "more than once expressed dissatisfaction with the policy of Russian procrastination, which has prevented the convocation of the peace conference on Japan."

A few paragraphs later, the paper declares that "General MacArthur has consistently been lenient toward Japan and in fact has been conniving with Japan. This is likely to lead to another catastrophe in the Far East and is a serious threat to the peace and security of China." The paper also adds that there are certain people in America who would like to build up Japan as the stabilizing force in the Far East, which

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is also a great tragedy.

Here we see the dilemma into which the double faced policy of the Government papers has led them. In the first place they do believe — as any right thinking and sane person would—that American policy in Japan is disastrous for China's future. But in the second place, their role as official mouthpieces prescribes a jibe at Russia, when one is made at the United States. In other words, it is not the U.S. which is alone wrong in Japan. Russia, too, is to blame, because it does not agree to write a peace on American terms. And these terms have been attacked by the *Shun Pao* itself, as being against China's security ...So we arrive at a dead end.

In this case, papers like the *Shun Pao* disregard the words of Premier Chang Chun and George Yeh, who said that there can be no peace treaty with Japan without Russia. Russia is the only Big Power which has opposed consistently and with vigor American policy of rebuilding Japan. Why should not the *Shun Pao* support Russia in this case? I think it is better for the *Shun Pao* to support Russia on this Japanese treaty question than the Government, because the Russian Government expects no loan from the United States and does not have to be careful in what it says about American policy in Japan.

On the whole, it seems that some Chinese papers don't recognize a friend in need when they see one. I hope the *Shun Pao* will carefully examine itself on this question.

S. O. S.

Shanghai,
September 13, 1947.

We No Longer Rely

To The Editor:

We are a group of overseas Chinese students residing in Siam. The total number of Chinese students studying in the primary, middle and evening schools, amounts to 30,000. During the rule of the Thailand Fascists as well as the Japanese occupation, we suffered the greatest and most unreasonable oppression; no Chinese schools were allowed to be established, no Chinese textbook was permitted to be used. Chinese could only be learned in the most secret manner. It was not until victory over Japan that we obtained the freedom of education. But the Civil War, famine and lack of democracy in China brought us great pain.

It is our earnest hope to have a strong and democratic China. We have suffered under the oppression of the Fascists and have been treated with the contempt the citizen of a weak country always receives abroad. If only our fatherland will become strong and democratic, we are willing to endure all sorts of sacrifice.

We have had confidence and hope in the National Government as well as its leaders. But for two years, the facts betray to us that this government is not a government for the people. It represents the benefit of a few; it squeezes and slaughters the people; it wages the Civil War and spreads it regardless of the people's demand for peace.

Formerly, we thought that this Civil War was only a fight between two parties, KMT and CP. Now we realize it is a war between democracy and tyranny, the people and the reactionaries. We no longer rely on the repentance of the reactionary government but on the general democratic movement.

We have great respect and concern for the students in China who have been struggling for years for peace and democracy. We have given them in both the spring and summer our support spiritually and materially. We are all children of China; our hearts are the same.

We want to tell our foreign friends as well as our compatriots that we, the Overseas Chinese students in Siam, will never desert the struggle for peace and democracy in China. We oppose the Civil War, the partyized education, the Government's oppression by force, secret agents and all sorts of slaughtering of students. Being Overseas Chinese students of the Southeast Asia, the youth of the Chinese Republic, we have the right and duty to do so.

The present U.S. policy toward China is not satisfactory to us. Needless to say, we are very grateful for the aid Americans gave us during the anti-Japanese war and shall always bear it in mind. But we oppose the present U.S. attitude toward China; we are angry with the American army's behavior in China, especially their insulting the Chinese students. We hope the American friends will stand up to set right their country's mistaken policy.

We are now writing to you with the idea that your *Review* may bring our stand and point of view to our compatriots, the Chinese students as well as our foreign friends, especially the American friends and students.

THE SIAM OVERSEAS CHINESE STUDENTS' UNION.

Bangkok, Siam,
August 27, 1947.

Atrocities?

To The Editor:

May I inform you of a letter dealing with the death of Mr. Yu Tsai Lin, the late engineer-in-chief of the Peipio Mine, during the June clash between KMT and CP armies, in Northeast China? The following is my translation of some paragraphs of a letter written in Chinese, by Pan Ke Shik of Shenyang which appeared in the August 30 issue of the

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Kwan Cha Magazine ("The Observer").

"Mr. Yu Tsai Ling's death has been greatly used by all the KMT supervised newspapers as an example of the Communists' atrocities. He was described to have died with eyes extracted and corpse dissected and then left exposed for several days. However, what I have learned from a colleague of his and a friend of mine, is entirely different from the report by the *Central News Agency*."

"According to my friend, the mine was defended by only one police battalion when the Communists attacked it. The situation of the defenders became very critical, with ammunition running out and no reinforcements coming. Therefore the Communists dispatched two soldiers to persuade them to surrender, demanding a reply within 15 minutes; the offer, however, was refused, and the two messengers were retained. Supposing their men killed, the Communists began to strengthen their fire and close in. Then the defenders were frightened and Mr. Yu was sent out to talk peace. But it was too late, the Communists were so eager to revenge their comrades that they did not cease fire; as a result, Mr. Yu was shot immediately after his exit."

"As to the responsible regular army officers and soldiers, they had been busy evacuating their families and properties by the scanty communication facilities then available long before the Communists came, leaving behind them the technicians to suffer from active warfare."

"Recently Mr. Sun Yeh Chi, Deputy Councilor of the National Resources Committee, in an article published in *Yih Shih Pao* at Tientsin, urged the technical staff of the Government organs to take an active part in the Civil War, because 'the Communists will kill them regardless of their being engineers.' Mr. Sun's successful contributions to the industrial world are very much appreciated by me, however, his article has gone too far from his standing as an engineer, and the motive behind his words is doubtful."

This is the whole story. I hope it will be published in your esteemed *Review*, so that the facts behind the newspapers' propaganda can be revealed before the puzzled eyes of our misinformed countrymen, so far as the question of responsibility for Mr. Yu's death is concerned.

YIN SHIH YIH.

Shanghai,
September 12, 1947.

Protect Miss Shih!

To The Editor:

After deep study I recognize that Miss Helen P. F. Shih is an independent observer and her article on "No Liberal, Independent Papers in Yunnan," in the August 16 issue of the *Review* is an unbiased mirror reflecting the "dark side" of all the local Chinese papers. This article is really like the "sharp dagger" driven into the side of bad newsmen and has made a great stir in Kunming, especially in news circles.

After reading Miss Shih's article, a group of professors and students of Yunnan University discussed the reports. They agreed with Miss Shih in her observations although they said that the circulations figures should be checked for accuracy, because in China circulation figures are kept as secret as a young lady's age so it is difficult to ascertain the correct number.

Meanwhile, on August 25, the *Education Guide Weekly*, edited by some professors and students of the National Kunming Teachers College, published an abridged Chinese translation of the article. Without exaggeration every copy of the issue was sold out. The Kunming people were anxious to read the story which they consider no other paper would publish. Complying with readers' requests, the *Weekly* reprinted several hundred additional copies to meet the demand.

A Chinese proverb says: "It is very strange that good words are always kept indoors but bad ones are easily spread over 1,000 li." In this case, the "inside story" which spread from mouth to mouth, was as a stone thrown into a pool for in no time it was sending out ripples far and wide. This is why, in the first issue of the newly reopened *Chung Yang Wan Pao* (Central Evening News), we read an article attacking Miss Shih and saying that she is certainly "Communist" and accusing your esteemed paper of being "the left wingers' mouthpiece."

In the September 8 issue of the *Education Guide Weekly* a letter was published from a group of student readers who made a counter attack and protested against the slanderous words in the *Chung Yang Wan Pao*. "In order to get the readers' support and sympathy, the only way for the paper is to correct their cooked up reporting and editing," the student readers advised.

I have heard from a reliable source that the big shot newsmen are going to find out the identity of the writer. Under current undemocratic conditions, if they find out who Miss Shih is I think they will do her harm. To support freedom of speech, I hereby offer Miss Shih my deep sympathy and meanwhile I eagerly hope that you will keep Miss Shih's Chinese name and address a secret. Mr. Editor, it is your duty to protect Miss Shih from the danger which may occur to her.

A FAITHFUL REPORTER.

Kunming, Yunnan,
September 13, 1947.

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Vol. 107 Shanghai, Saturday, September 20, 1947 No. 3

Skepticism Abounding

IN an editorial late last year, entitled Corruption and Opposition, we quoted Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek as having said that:

"The people regard our Kuomintang offices as yamen, our party functionaries as bureacrats, our party members as belonging to a privileged class. What is a yamen? It is the sink for all corruption and good-for-nothingness. What is a bureaucrat? A bureaucrat is a general term for corruption, laziness, face saving. What is a privileged class? It is a class of people who lead a loose, parasitic unproductive life at the expense of the people."

We are sure that Webster's would have no quarrel with these classic definitions.

Our comment on this issue at that time was:

"In other words, only when the Government becomes really representative of the people, will corruption be done away with. And only when the administration becomes a government of the people, will there cease to be an opposition to it, for as Mark Twain is reported to have said: 'It is rather difficult to oppose oneself.'"

We are not quoting a previous editorial of ours for the sake of "We told you so!" The foregoing excerpt could be one of many instances when the maladministration, inefficiency and lack of real reform have been castigated by Kuomintang leaders themselves. And, it should be added, in terms more bitter than the opposition is in the habit of using.

Following Dr. Hollington Tong's announcement a short while ago that stories of reforms would be tops in the next few months, we have witnessed a veritable self-castigation campaign at the Plenary Session of the KMT's Central Executive Committee. Generalissimo Chiang has been most outspoken, humble and determined. He has told the Party functionaries that enough promises have been made: time is for some implementation of promises made years ago.

And in this connection it is well to analyze a few points of this business of reform, constitutional government, democracy, the people's rights, freedom of speech and of the press, and other pertinent problems.

ONE aspect of reform in the Kuomintang that strikes the observer as most illogical is the attitude of those who should reform, to their critics outside and inside the party.

When the Generalissimo enumerates all these points about yamen, bureaucrats and privileged classes, he merely paraphrases what KMT critics persist in reiterating now and then, as the occasion arises. *Reuter's*, for example, has reported from Nanking that the Central Supervisory Commission of the KMT has discussed the proposal to expel General Feng Yu-hsiang for "criticizing the National Government, undemocratic behavior and libelling President Chiang Kai-shek."

General Feng can always be sued for libel, but as regards his other criticisms of the Government, as carried by the news agencies, they appear to be a restatement of what Party leaders themselves have said in the past few days. If General Feng is wrong, why all this talk about the need to reform and recapturing the support of the people? Clearly, here is a double standard: you can castigate yourself, but others are wrong when they attempt to do just that.

In sum, the first and foremost prerequisite to sound reform is consent to a wide latitude of criticism from outsiders and the outs in the party. As the Party Manifesto has just said: "We are willing to let deeds speak for themselves and actions to bear witness to our determination." That's the only sensible attitude to adopt, for if Party actions are correct and in line with the people's interests, the race of critics will decline and its remnants will only sound ridiculous.

* * *

"THE most pressing need is to relieve the people of their suffering," is another quotation from the recent Party Manifesto which envisages reforms in the Party. It calls all "nationally conscious members to unite and work for the creation of a new China dedicated to the fulfilment of the Three People's Principles."

In this connection, an *AP* report from Nanking, asserting that the Generalissimo has ordered booklets on Communist theories and policies issued to the KMT's CEC members, with instructions to "study them thoroughly, learn their merits and repudiate their shortcomings," is highly interesting. The dispatch then continues to say that the major theme of these booklets is the Communist method of equalization of land distribution among tenant farmers. To match this, the Government has an agrarian reform program which embodies Dr. Sun Yat-sen's principle of land equalization. This program was never thoroughly carried out for fear it would antagonize landed property owners against the Government, a high source told *AP*.

Now, according to Dr. Chen Li-fu, who should know his China, more than 80 percent of the Chinese people are farmers. Also, it is generally agreed, although accurate statistics are lacking, that "landed property owners," comprise from 10 to 15 percent of the population. If the "principle of land equalization" were to be undertaken by the Kuomintang, in pursuance of the wishes of Dr. Sun, these 15 percent would indeed be alienat-

ed from the Government. But on the other side of the scales would be the respect and support of the vast majority of Chinese who are yearning for this land equalization.

At this hour, the question of land equalization seems to be political dynamite and this may be one of the reasons why no mention of land equalization has been made by high Party officials in the recent discussions of far reaching reforms. On the basis of past history we would say that unless this question is tackled seriously, political reforms, such as the elimination of corruption, will not be enough to alter the Kuomintang's position radically.

Most students of the Chinese revolution agree that this problem of land equalization is the basis of the Principle of the People's Livelihood. Some even assert that were this principle implemented, the two other principles would be easily resolved, or at least it would be no serious task to put into practice. Since the history of the Kuomintang revolution shows that the Livelihood Principle has been somewhat neglected, would it not be logical to experiment with it by giving it top priority? It may well be that this mode of action will solve the Party's difficulties.

* * *

THE KMT has declared publicly that henceforth it would let deeds speak for themselves. This can only be welcomed, because there has been enough conversation. But for this very reason we shall refrain from expressing our optimism at this hour, for with skepticism abounding now, our happiness will be unlimited when deeds will begin to speak for themselves.

The Asymptotic Banquet

THE local papers say that people who used to enjoy banquets of 12 courses and a soup, will now be limited to six courses. Developing this idea to its logical conclusion we arrived at the following table which can well serve as the basis for national austerity in these trying times:

Those who had	12	courses will now have only	6
Those who had	6	courses will now have only	3
Those who had	3	courses will now have only	1.5
Those who had	1.5	courses will now have only	0.75
Those who had	0.75	courses will now have only	0.375
Those who had	0.375	courses will now have only	0.1875
Those who had	0.1875	courses will now have only	.08375

This discouraging process can be continued indefinitely and the only hope for the banquet is the existence of the asymptote which approaches zero, but never actually disappears.

Good Example

EVERY so often, usually just about the time we have finished writing another editorial pointing out what we conceive to be the shortcomings of some Chinese or American organization or individual, we receive proof that all is not black. Such proof is all the more welcome in these days of general disintegration, especially when the object of merit turns out to be connected with the Chinese Government, the object of so much current wrath and ridicule.

For the past few weeks Shanghai's postoffice has been carrying on a campaign to acquaint the general public with its services and to attempt to secure from those who use the posts comments and suggestions. The first letter from the postoffice explained the campaign with a sentence that is truly remarkable to the average Shanghailander grown accustomed to unsatisfactory dealings with officials, both Chinese and foreign. It said: "We are making great efforts to improve our service and shall lose no time in taking effective steps to rectify matters whenever and wherever we are informed of any dissatisfaction from the posting public." What's more, the postoffice apparently meant it because last week we received a "follow up" letter, again inquiring as to the state of our postal service and asking for our cooperation.

The point of this editorial is simple. Not only is the postoffice to be congratulated for doing—according to present bureaucratic standards—more than its job by trying to improve its service to the public, but it gives an obvious rebuttal to the bureaucrats, both in Shanghai and Nanking, who answer each criticism of themselves with a speech which begins, "....at the time of the Marco Polo Bridge incident...." and ends with a lament "....because of eight years of resistance to the invader we have not yet been able...."

Short Comment In CNC

WE would like to differ from the tone and tenor of commentaries on the magnanimous gesture of Dr. T. V. Soong in donating CNC$200,000,000,000 worth of shares held by him in the China Finance Development Corporation for the aid of the families of deceased KMT members.

One local English-language paper says that this is an act of commendable magnanimity and should be encouraged, for besides Drs. Soong and Kung there are "countless others with hundreds of millions at their disposal, who could afford to part with a slice of their fortunes for the sake of national unification and country wide peace."

This is precisely the point. The huge donation of Dr. Soong just goes to show that there is great wealth in China, although it is concentrated in the hands of individuals. And the best way to utilize this wealth is not to "encourage" similar magnanimity, but to implement the stiff property tax we have heard so much about.

International Glass House

FOLLOWING President Truman's speech at the closing of the Petropolis conference convened for the working out of inter-American defense plans, the Western Hemisphere was pictured as "united for peace," and as the "New World hope for an Old World torn by war." This is in essence what President Truman told the delegates of 19 nations at the conference. The President then called upon the "nations of free America to aid the nations of free Europe in a program of economic self-aid."

Among the nations of a free America the delegates of Argentina also affixed their signatures to the agreement that is supposed to put into permanent form the commitments of the Act of Chapultepec. Along with the others, the

Argentine delegation "made it clear to any possible aggressor that the American republics are determined to support one another against attacks," as President Truman expressed it.

All this sounded extremely fine, especially when Truman pointed out that the "recent war had not fulfilled faith in the establishment of a free world." The only thing, it seems, the President forgot to mention is that the cause of the last war was Fascism, and Fascism must be quarantined if another war is to be avoided. As it is, one of the signatories to the Western Hemisphere defense pact is Fascist Argentina, which is now expected to live at peace with other south American neighbors and even guard them against aggression.

There is ample testimony from all quarters that Peron is leading his country along the fascist road. A recent article in the *New Republic* entitled "It Was Like This In Berlin," summed up the situation as indicating that "following Nazi blueprints, Peron's regime is regimenting Argentina, putting her on a war footing and threatening her neighbors." There you have both a nation of free America and the security of all neighbors concerned.

Another article in *Harper's* magazine for August, 1947, tells of "the antics of Peron." The author, John Herling, says that whereas many Americans thought Fascism could be a danger only in Germany or Italy, and is perfectly harmless in such a remote Latin-American country, "it is now time to take another look." The author charges Peron with aiming to control at least five neighboring states, and says that this would mean the "dismemberment of that hemisphere unity which has been a traditional goal of the American republics."

More need not be added about Peron's homeside methods: the potential fascist aggressor is there, and one only wonders at the optimism of President Truman's closing speech. The obvious conclusion is that the Chief Executive reads neither *Harper's* nor the *New Republic*.

* * *

WHILE condoning and actually shielding a fascist country (Argentina was brought into the UN at America's insistence) the United States has excelled only Britain in attacking the governments of Yugoslavia, Hungary, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria and Albania. We have charged that these regimes are not democratic, that they do not represent the will of the people, and when elections have been conducted, that these were falsified. Both the U.S. and Great Britain have protested the treatment of the opposition and alleged voting irregularities in these East European countries even before such protests were made at home. One could suspect that these protests were written ahead of time, so sure we were that fraud was being enacted.

On September 4, Secretary of State Marshall declared the unanimity of the 19 American Republics "is the most encouraging, most stimulating international action since the close of hostilities." Two days earlier, a not so stimulating event occurred in Buenos Aires when the Argentine Government banned the opposition papers *Que* and *La Vanguardia*.

TWO VIEWS

Werner in The Indianapolis Star

"In union there is strength."

Herblock in The Washington Post

"The new good neighbor policy."

Meanwhile, a United States note to Soviet Russia on the Petkov case in Bulgaria described the arrest, trial and sentence—to hanging—of Petkov as "scandalous." We did not think it "scandalous" that the *La Vanguardia* ceased publication because the Buenos Aires police closed its printing plant on the pretext that it had no storage space for newsprint.

* * *

THE lily white, democratic government of Greece we have helped and supported in its allegations of "aggression" on the part of Albania, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia, and have completely ignored the counter charges of Greece's neighbors that their territories were invaded numerous times by Greek border guards and military planes.

We have charged that both Marshal Tito and Enver Hodja are dictators and that they spearhead the tide of totalitarianism—obviously armed by the Russians—which is currently attempting

to engulf "free Europe." We have expressed our determination to defend the "free institutions" of Greece and Turkey against this totalitarianism.

In a word, we have supported in Europe those elements which have proved themselves the most violently anti-Soviet and anti-Communist, and have dubbed them "democratic" for their pains. The question, however, is whether all those who are anti-Soviet and anti-Communist are ergo democratic.

The case history of the Western Hemisphere defense pact and the Anglo-Saxon support of the Greek Fascist Government shows that this is not necessarily the case. Only a warped—or hypocritical—mind can maintain that Argentina, Greece and Turkey are democracies and that they have "free institutions to defend."

* * *

AS we throw dirt at Russia for actively supporting the governments of East European countries, we should inspect our own glass house, one of whose wings is built around Argentina, another over Greece and a third surrounding Turkey. The international glass house we have laboriously constructed since the end of the war is not a dependable edifice, mainly because it is made of glass. Moreover, if we insist on arming the Fascists of Argentina, Greece and Turkey, we should not object too righteously against Russia supporting the Communists in Eastern Europe, and even elsewhere.

Germany & Japan

IMMEDIATELY after the defeat of the two aggressor nations, usually signified as V-E and V-J days, two great problems arose before the victorious Allies. These problems are by no means near solution in spite of the passage of two years since peace officially descended upon us. These problems concern the disposal of the war potential of these two defeated nations, rather, the manner in which their economies must be organized in order for them to cease being breeding grounds for new wars.

Article 12 of the Potsdam Agreement declares, "At the earliest practicable date, the German economy shall be decentralized for the purpose of eliminating the present excessive concentration of economic power as exemplified in particular by cartels, syndicates, trusts and other monopolistic arrangements." The agreement also adds that during the period of occupation Germany shall be treated as a single economic unit. What the document does not specify is just how German economy is to be rendered peaceful. This question of method has bred serious disagreement between the so-called West and East, and seems to be the main cause of the split the newspapers are writing about.

There appear to be three ways of dealing with an industrial potential which had worked for aggression:

1) Plants, factories, mines, railways, power stations, credit facilities, and other means of production, could be left in the hands of the people who owned them before the war, i.e. "the rightful owners."

2) All these assets could be seized and sold to the public, which would mean mainly the middle classes, and

3) All this industrial potential could be nationalized.

To cap any of the three foregoing ways, a democratic German Government must be organized.

* * *

NO one would be willing to come out with a direct assertion that the best solution for Germany's economy is the first, whereby the "former rightful owners," the monopolists who helped Hitler come to power and later supplied him with the necessary implements of war, should be reinstated as if V-E day never was. Solution 1 is a fine prelude to World War III.

The second suggestion for the sale of the enormous assets to the public is highly impracticable, because the public does not possess the funds for this operation. If the various plants, mines, factories and other establishments were to be cut up into small pieces to facilitate their sale to middle class investors, Germany's peace economy would be set back 50 or more years, and the livelihood of the German people seriously endangered.

The third solution, thus, appears to be the only rational way out of the situation. Nationalization of most German industries with the formation of a Central German Government of democratic content will both ensure the growth of German democracy and also guarantee a reasonable level of production for peace.

* * *

UNITED States policy, as expressed first in the Truman Doctrine and later reiterated and expanded in the Marshall Plan, categorically rejects the only sane solution to this problem, because it stands against nationalization in principle. The reasoning seems to be that what's good for the U.S. should be good for Germany, the only fault with this being that the mechanical application of history never has been harmless.

In its determination to "contain communism," the Marshall Plan prefers to see established the old order in Germany rather than nationalize industry, again on the assumption that nationalization is a step toward Communism, or at least socialism.

Now, whatever may be the merits or detractions of socialism, there appears to be no other way out for German industry than to be safely nationalized under a united, democratic German Government. Only in this manner can the economic basis of German aggression be eliminated and Europe guaranteed against the resurgence of Nazism.

* * *

IN Japan, SCAP seems to be favoring the second solution mentioned above. Small investors are being encouraged to put up capital for big industrial and business enterprises formerly owned by the Zaibatsu and now in the hands of the Holding Companies' Liquidation Com-

mission. An extensive campaign has been launched "to lure the man in the street into putting his savings and loose cash into stocks and bonds," as *Central News* put it.

On the inception of this operation, great commotion was registered in Zaibatsu and Government circles. A number of highly placed officials hastened to warn that "turmoil" would ensue if this plan is carried out and the Japanese economy "over scattered, thus obstructing production."

This anxiety in monopoly circles is understandable and it can also be assumed that the Zaibatsu will lose no time in securing through their agents as many shares as possible in the market.

The same problem is facing United States occupation authorities in Korea. There, a major portion of the industry was under control of the Japanese and worked directly for the Kwantung Army and the Japanese mainland. The Korean owners of these industrial enterprises may not be prosecuted as war criminals, but they should be barred from owning and operating plants which formerly served the Japanese and may well do so again. In Korea, as in Japan and Germany, the middle class is much too impoverished to invest "savings and loose cash" in stocks and bonds, and the probability is that the sale of these assets will result in their reversion to former owners.

As in Japan and Germany, the only solution for Korea is the nationalization of the main industrial sectors under a democratic and united Korean Government. But here again, as in Germany and Japan, the Marshall Plan seems to be working against this sane solution with the result that none of the issues for which the war has been fought is being solved.

* * *

THE new directive issued to General Lucius D. Clay on July 11, regarding the military government of Germany, can be interpreted in no other manner than signifying that Western Germany is to become the center of European recovery, even before a central German Government has been established. Inasmuch as German economic potential remains largely in the hands of former monopolists there is no question but that Germany has been split in two parts well nigh permanently, and in such a way as to constitute a latent threat to its neighbors. "An orderly and prosperous Europe requires the economic contributions of a stable and productive Germany...." the directive states. It should be remembered that Germany was highly stable and productive under Hitler.. The question, therefore, is whether the stability under the present regime is the right kind of stability.

* * *

"IN Europe today the variation between capitalism and Communism runs from socialist countries which are near communist, to countries with managed economies which are near capitalist," says Owen Lattimore following his recent trip to Europe. We could add that nowhere is there an economic organization similar to that existing in the United States. It is therefore historically false, whether through a plan or through a doctrine to attempt to nurture and foster replicas of American economic organization. Some historic trends—in this case the general tendency to nationalization of industries—are so strong that no amount of dollars will be able to halt them. This simple truth should be realized at an early date by American policy makers.

25 Years Ago In The Weekly Review Of The Far East

Anecdote

September 23, 1922.

A group of Americans and Chinese were discussing a trip to a native shrine of considerable historical importance in North China. The shrine is located in a district supposed to be infested by wild animals. The Americans were strangers in China and were asking their Chinese friends about roads and methods of travel. One of the Chinese, an official of considerable rank, urged a postponement of the trip, stating that there might be considerable danger. The American to whom he was talking replied: "We intend to take our rifles along so if the tigers molest us we will kill them."

"I wasn't referring to the tigers," said the Chinese official. "The tigers are not so dangerous—I was thinking about the bandits."

* * *

Trade Act Now Law

THE China Trade Act, a measure providing federal incorporation and certain exemptions from American domestic taxation for American companies doing business in the Republic Of China, was ratified by the United States Senate last week and on Tuesday, September 19, received the signature of President Harding.

Although tentative regulations putting the law into effect have been received by Mr. Julean Arnold, American Commercial Attaché, it is not expected that the actual incorporation of companies can be undertaken until the Department of Commerce designates a Registrar of American China companies whose office will probably be located in Shanghai.

10 Years Ago In The China Weekly Review

No Sane American . . .

September 18, 1937.

THE New York Evening Post denounced the "colossal selfishness" of the American community in Shanghai, particularly the American Chamber of Commerce, for demanding protection of the United States Government. The paper charged that a few hundred Americans in Shanghai "have so little regard for the 130,000,000 Americans at home that they would embroil us all..." Roosevelt must guide the policies of the nation on the path of safety for Americans as a whole, declared the editorial, "not the special interests of a little group in Shanghai."

* * *

New Defender

FOREIGNERS generally have been favorably impressed by the spirit, discipline, and good behavior of the soldiers in China's national army. In this critical period, most foreigners testify to the courtesy and kindness of Chinese soldiers with whom they have come into contact. Today, it is only the Japanese and their friends and employees who talk about the "outrageous" Chinese soldiers—and the phrase is now commonly recognized as mere propaganda venom...

Singapore Politics Mirror China Strife

JOHN W. POWELL

(This article, dealing with problems and conflicts among the Overseas Chinese community in Malaya, was written during China National Aviation Corporation's recent inaugural flight surveying landing facilities in Southeast Asian countries).

Singapore.

IN Singapore, although one is again struck by the similarity of many of the problems confronting the millions of Overseas Chinese who reside in the various countries of Asia, one is impressed by the political activity of the Chinese. Divided into parties and cliques which often follow the general outlines of similar organizations in China, Singapore's Chinese continually "fight" the Civil War.

The political picture is perhaps even more complex than in China, because these various groups find it difficult to concentrate upon China alone, since frequently matters of purely local concern have to be dealt with. Some groups attempt to avoid embarrassing situations by trying to concern themselves only with China, or only with Malaya. One such effort appears to be the organization of two Democratic "Leagues," with one, the Democratic *Union*, devoting itself to Malayan affairs, while the other, the Democratic *League*—connected with the League in China—concentrates entirely upon China problems. Chinese members form a majority in both "Leagues," with the membership rolls of each being more or less identical.

The manner in which a Chinese dominated political organization here (virtually all parties, unions, etc., are Chinese controlled) becomes involved in political contradictions can easily be seen. A Singapore trade union, for example, upon the urging of its Chinese majority, adopts an anti-Kuomintang policy, criticizing the Central Government for its corruption, lack of democracy, etc. Later, the Chinese members of the union discover an actual or fancied case of race discrimination, either on the part of some Malay or Indian outfit, or in connection with some Singapore Government action. At this point the interests of the local Chinese line up in direct opposition to one or more of the other races here and the group's Chinese members tend to band together and seek the source of strongest support. This, obviously, drives them back toward the KMT and its consul-general who can be counted upon to defend Chinese nationals against the "natives" or other foreigners.

* * *

FOR the Communists, the problem of racial antagonisms is even more serious. Because of the deep seated prejudices between the various nationalities, it seems to be difficult for the Communists to formulate policies which can get the various groups to work together and ignore race lines.

In Siam, where the relationships between Siamese and Chinese, while now quiet, are often tense and occasionally burst forth into violence, it appears that two separate Communist groups have been formed. During the Japanese supervision of Siam, observers say, the Siamese and Chinese Communists went underground and worked hand in glove, but with the removal of the common enemy, the two groups dissolved their close liaison and, apparently, have gone their separate ways. This is at best a temporary solution and may easily lead to many future internal difficulties for the Communists.

In Malaya, however, the Communists and some of the liberal-progressive groups have tackled the problem by organizing a widespread program aimed at doing away with racial conflicts through powerful committees attached to unions and other political-economic organizations which theoretically have the power to arbitrate any disputes among members which develop along racial lines. They also carry on extensive propaganda campaigns aimed at convincing the people that the different races can live together peacefully. In these campaigns it is charged that one of the main factors contributing to racial antagonisms is that Kuomintang activity is often directed toward fostering and developing any latent differences between the Overseas Chinese and the other races.

The KMT, they charge, largely relies upon conflicts between the Chinese and the various native peoples as a trump card to force Overseas Chinese to seek support from China and its Kuomintang run Central Government. The price for such aid at critical moments, they say, is political and economic support of Nanking.

The accuracy of such a charge, of course, is open to question. While it does not seem reasonable to presume that the Kuomintang would deliberately pursue a policy of stirring up trouble between the Chinese and the native peoples, it is possible that Kuomintang policy towards Chinese in Malaya (and other Overseas areas) might be more inclined to follow nationalistic lines than Communist policy which perforce must appeal to both Chinese *and* Malays, in addition to Indians and other minority groups.

Another interesting aspect of the problem facing the Communists in whipping up support in Malaya is the fact that Chinese racial ties cut across the party organization blueprint. People supposedly in the know claim that according to top Communist organization plans, China, Japan, Korea, Indo-China and Siam are lumped into one regional Communist organization known as Chung Gung, while the Philippines, Malaya and Indonesia comprise the Ma Gung group. However, Malaya, with its large Chinese population and with control of most Communist activities in the hands of the Chinese, refuses to stay put and continually slides back toward Chung Gung, the Chinese organization, to which Malay's Chinese Communists look for inspiration at least. Further, to the majority of the Communists in Malaya, who are Chinese, the present conflict in China is as of much interest as the political fight in Malaya.

* * *

THE conflict between the right and left in Malaya threatens to become not only the biggest issue in the Chinese Community but in the country itself. Primary reason for this is that the Chinese constitute probably the largest single racial group in Malaya. Figures for 1941, which admittedly are not absolutely accurate, show that Singapore itself had a total population of 769,000, of whom 600,000 were Chinese. The Malayan Union counted 4,739,000 people, with 1,780,000 being Chinese. Added together, the figures show a total Chinese population of 2,380,000, a Malay population of 2,277,000; 744,000 Indians and the rest Europeans, Eurasians and others. Thus, one could say that the Overseas Chinese in Malaya have ceased to be a minority problem and have become a "majority" problem. Partial statistics gathered since the war, mostly on the basis of ration cards, indicate that the Chinese are increasing at a considerably faster rate than any other race and that it is not inconceivable that at some future date the Malays may account for only a small minority in what originally was their own country.

Another reason for the rapid development of the KMT-Red struggle is the political freedom allowed by the British rulers of Malaya. While retaining all essential political controls, the British administrators of Singapore and the Malayan Union have granted almost complete freedom to organize political parties, trade unions, etc. The Communist Party has been legalized and operates almost as openly as the Kuomintang.

One other contributing factor to the growth of Communist, left wing and liberal strength among the Chinese—and in turn the Malays—is the fact that there are several outstanding Chinese leaders who do not see eye to eye with the Kuomintang. Tan Ka-kee, probably one of the half dozen wealthiest Chinese in the world, and undisputedly the most influential Chinese in Singapore, makes no pretense of his dislike for several high government officials in Nanking, such as Wu Te-chen, secretary-general of the Kuomintang's Central Executive Committee, about whose alleged shortcomings Tan has written a book, copies of which he autographs and presents to visitors.

While Tan will not endorse the Chinese Communist Party, any more than he will the Kuomintang, he made a trip to Yenan in 1940, which he has not forgotten. At that time he was greatly impressed by the Communists, whom he said were much closer in their political beliefs to the tenets of Dr. Sun Yat-sen than they were to the principles of Marx. The resultant comparison he drew between Yenan and Chungking did not reflect favorably upon the National Government.

He says, however, that he doesn't know about the Communists today and does not wish to favor either party in China's struggle. He merely emphasizes that China needs a leader who will, having the people's interests at heart, lead the country out of its present chaos. This leader, he says, will gain acceptance because the Chinese people will recognize that his main consideration is their welfare. Questioned as to whether he thought any of the many leading Kuomintang, Communist or independent personages of today might be that leader, he would only reiterate that the leader would be recognized by the people. Thus, while not saying definitely that he thought the leader had not yet come to the fore, the implication was plain that he did not consider any of the prominent present day figures as likely to be the man.

• • •

THE Kuomintang naturally does not take this challenge lying down and campaigns actively to maintain the support of the Chinese communities abroad. It has several advantages, one of the most important being that the areas from which most Overseas Chinese originate—the South China coastal provinces—are in the KMT camp, or at least in Central Government territory. The central authorities also are in a better position to organize and operate schools for Chinese children, while the diplomatic representatives in Overseas areas are appointed by Nanking.

As long as the fight between the Communists and the Kuomintang continues in China, it seems evident that a similar struggle will be mirrored in Overseas communities. In most areas, the Kuomintang, representing the recognized Government of China, is in a leading position, but in many regions the strength of the Communists and other dissident elements is growing. Singapore today may offer a model of what to expect in many other countries where there are large Chinese communities.

Leftists Driven Underground In South Korea

HUGH DEANE

(This is the first of a series of articles on the American zone of occupation in Korea by the REVIEW'S Japan and Korea correspondent.—EDITOR.)

Seoul, September 3.

THE large scale arrests and rightist terrorism of mid-August have driven the left almost completely underground throughout U.S.-occupied south Korea.

The extreme right of Dr. Syngman Rhee, implicitly supported by the U.S. authorities, in possession of the power of government and backed by large terrorist "youth associations," is engaged in a drive to destroy the entire range of political opposition.

Its first goal is a separate anti-Communist, American-financed government in south Korea. It expects and hopes for war between the Soviet Union and the United States, and it already claims that "Great Korea" should be given a slice of Manchuria and the Soviet Union's maritime provinces.

For practical political purposes, south Korea today is divided into an extreme right and a suppressed left. The small center, no longer politically significant, is being forced to choose between them. Those who oppose Rhee are referred to as "national traitors" in the dominant rightist press.

Previous to the mid-August suppression the left was semi-legal and semi-underground. Now leftist parties, trade unions, the farmers' union and similar groups have been suppressed to the utmost extent possible by police power and terrorism. Those known leftist leaders who are not in prison are hiding in the cities or have gone into the mountains.

Two or three leftist papers are still published in Seoul, despite periodic attacks on their printing plants by terrorists; practically no leftist press exists elsewhere in south Korea. Popular assembly was again prohibited early in August.

The suppression of the left was executed mainly between August 11 and 15 by the national police (headed by Cho Pyung-ok, member of the Rhee controlled Democratic Party) and terrorist youth gangs. The American authorities in effect gave the Korean police a blank check in high-level conferences preceding the arrests.

2,000 Arrested

Roughly 2,000 arrests were made by the police throughout south Korea up to August 15; about half were released within a few days. A few arrests were also made by the American Counter-Intelligence Corps (CIC). Most of those arrested were leaders of the 24 parties and groups affiliated with the People's Democratic Front: the Labor Party (Communist), the People's Republic Party and labor, farmer, cooperative, religious, cultural, women's and youth groups. Many leftwing teachers, artists, newspapermen and lawyers, as well as two leaders of the Civil Liberties Union, were rounded up.

Between August 11 and 15, terrorists in Seoul and elsewhere searched homes, beat up leftists and suspected leftists, confined and tortured leftists in private prisons, and looted leftist headquarters and newspaper plants.

After August 15, terrorism subsided to the high incidence which has prevailed since April, when the extreme right began its campaign to break up the Soviet-American Joint Commission and to make inevitable a separate, anti-Communist government in south Korea.

After the arrests, Korean police officials and Lt. Gen. John R. Hodge, U.S. commander, announced the discovery of a widespread Communist conspiracy, "directed from north Korea," to sabotage and subvert the South Korean Interim Government. No details have been disclosed to date, nor has any of the evidence been made public.

Russians Walk Softly In Dairen

ANNA LOUISE STRONG
(Telepress Correspondent)

(Miss Anna Louise Strong, who left China a few months ago, is the first American correspondent to arrive in Dairen proper, tour the city and environs, including the Naval Base of Port Arthur and report on the situation in an area which has recently had its share in generating diplomatic tension between China and the USSR. This is the first of three articles.—EDITOR.)

THE Russians walk softly in Dairen. Though the USSR is charged by treaty with the defense for 30 years of the Kwantung Peninsula, of which Dairen is chief city and port, Russian armed forces stay well outside the town, entering only rarely and as individuals.

There are no parades of armed Russians through the streets, such as one saw last year of Americans in Tientsin and Peiping. There is no display of Russian naval vessels in quantity, such as one sees of American naval vessels in Tsingtao. Russians are making themselves as inconspicuous as possible.

In two days' auto tour of the shipyards, factories, city hall, schools and hospitals of this very obviously Chinese-governed city, I saw less than twenty Russians in uniform. These included four soldiers taking a baggage cart from the port to the railway, one much be-medalled general speeding towards his leave in Vladivostok, and a dozen officers who came to town with their women folk, very obviously their families, to an evening in the theater at an Ostrovsky play.

Naval Base

Russians become more visible if one takes the 30 mile drive down the peninsula to Port Arthur, the naval base. I am the only foreigner who has made this trip in two years. I passed three or four groups of Russian soldiers going by truck on the open road, possibly 60 or 70 all told. Only at the extreme tip of the peninsula where we passed the gate to the naval reservation and showed our permits, did I encounter Russian control.

There is a reason why the Russians walk softly. Dairen and Port Arthur, whose return from the Japs all Russia cheered two years ago, have gone sour for the moment. The Russians got certain treaty rights but those rights are today on the defensive under new pressures that the Russians are not ready to meet.

By the Sino-Russian Treaty of August 14, 1945, Port Arthur is to be a joint Sino-Soviet naval base, with the Russians deciding and supplying the installations; Dairen is to be a "free port" with a Russian harbor master and a Chinese city administration, and the entire Kwantung Peninsula is to be defended by the Russians for 30 years.

When the treaty was signed, most people congratulated China. For with the Red Army sweeping through Manchuria, and Chiang Kai-shek locked up a thousand miles away in Chungking, there was doubt what Chinese rights Russia would recognize in that "Manchukuo kingdom," surrendered on Chiang's orders to Japan in 1931. When Russia settled for joint possession of the railroad, naval base and commercial port that she built half a century ago and lost to Japan, her demands were considered moderate.

Tough Policy

Since then the policy of getting tough with Russia has developed, in which Nanking gladly copies America. What with America supplying planes, tanks and weapons in quantity, and equipping a much gaudier naval base in Tsingtao, Nanking has no use for the Russians now. It might like to get rid of them entirely.

But treaties signed with such éclat are not smashed openly, by a government as weak as Nanking. They are nibbled at, in the hope of wearing them down.

First and biggest nibble was the building of a big American naval base at Tsingtao, which—with the Americans in Korea and Japan—effectively encircles Port Arthur, making it a dangerous retreat for Russian naval vessels. Second nibble is the blockade of all Chinese commercial shipping from Dairen by the Kuomintang navy, which will be described in a following story.

Now Nanking, with or without American prodding and certainly with American approval, demands that Russia let Chinese troops take over Dairen. This would put the Russians right in the Civil War on Nanking's side. Thirty miles north of Dairen, Civil War has raged along the peninsular border. The Kuomintang took the adjacent areas from the Communists last winter; recently the Communists took them back.

The Russians permit no Chinese armed forces, Kuomintang or Communist, to enter the treaty given area. They stand pat on their responsibility for the defense of the peninsula, and in China's Civil War they keep it neutral....

Invite Administrators

The Russians have several times invited Chiang to send in a civilian administration. Nanking so far refuses unless she can send an army too. A Nanking army would bring not only Civil War, but American "instructors." Then what would happen to Russia's naval base?

If the Russians can hang on to their treaty rights until peace comes to China, and a railway opens through Manchuria, they will have something worth while. Till then, the Kwantung Peninsula is a financial and military liability, a blockaded isolation.

So Russians walk softly and make themselves inconspicuous. They don't want "incidents" around Dairen. If Chiang's political police should blow up incidents into nation wide demonstrations in China against Russians in Dairen, the entire Sino-Soviet treaty might crack.

Some people in Nanking, and in Washington, would like this. Others, more cautious, see that it might force the Russians into an alliance with the Chinese Communists—so far they scrupulously avoid them—and usher in a third world war.

Describing the French High Commissioner, M. Emile Bollaert's broadcast recently as "a betrayal of expectations," President Ho Chi Minh of Vietnam denounced the former's proposals as impossible of acceptance and urged the country to awake from its apathy and "return immediately to a state of active war against the French," according to a dispatch from *Reuter's*. He also hinted that the latest French proposals were so unsatisfactory that were the war concluded tomorrow, the Vietnamese would "scoff at Union with the French, in any way whatever."

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WHAT TOJO'S CELLMATES ARE THINKING

(Shigemitsu Likes MacArthur's Policies).

DAVID CONDE

Tokyo:

IN September 1946, a year after V-J Day ex-Foreign Minister Mamoru Shigemitsu, now on trial for his life in Tokyo, along with Tojo, as one of Japan's leading war criminals, wrote an amazing letter to a friend, in which he praised General MacArthur's policies in Japan. In this letter Shigemitsu tells how he "told" MacArthur how to run Japan and that if his advice was followed, he would "promise" the success of the Occupation.

The text of this hitherto secret letter follows:

"AS THE OCCUPATION OF JAPAN ENTERS ITS SECOND YEAR, I FEEL RELIEVED. THE PROMISES I MADE TO GENERAL MACARTHUR WHEN HE FIRST ARRIVED HERE HAVE BEEN KEPT AND THE OCCUPATION HAS BEEN SUCCESSFUL AS I PREDICTED AT THAT TIME.

"I WENT TO YOKOHAMA ON SEPTEMBER 3, 1945 AND HELD CONVERSATIONS WITH GENERAL MACARTHUR AND HIS CHIEF OF STAFF. I URGED THEM NOT TO ABOLISH ADMINISTRATION BY THE JAPANESE AND URGED THEM NOT TO SET UP A SPECIAL MILITARY GOVERNMENT TO RULE JAPAN. I URGED MACARTHUR TO PERMIT THE JAPANESE DIET TO REMAIN IN BEING AND TO LET THE ORGANIZED JAPANESE GOVERNMENT RUN THE NATION IN LINE WITH DIRECTIVES TO BE ISSUED FOR THE PURPOSE OF LAYING DOWN BROAD OUTLINES OF ALLIED DESIRES.

Fears "Turmoil"

"I COULD SEE THAT THE JAPANESE NATION WOULD HAVE BEEN THROWN INTO A TERRIBLE STATE OF TURMOIL IF ALL EXISTING GOVERNMENTAL AGENCIES WERE SWEPT ASIDE. THIS INFORMATION I CONVEYED TO THE SUPREME COMMANDER AND PROMISED HIM THAT THE JAPANESE GOVERNMENT WOULD FAITHFULLY CARRY OUT ANY AND ALL DIRECTIVES HE MIGHT ISSUE.

"I TOLD THE GENERAL THAT THE EMPEROR HAD APPOINTED THE GOVERNMENT OF THAT TIME TO STOP THE WAR AND CARRY OUT THE TERMS OF THE POTSDAM DECLARATION.

"I TOLD HIM I HAD FAITH IN THE JAPANESE PEOPLE TO COOPERATE AND TOLD HIM I, PERSONALLY, WOULD GUARANTEE COMPLIANCE WITH HIS WISHES. I FURTHER ASSURED HIM THAT GREATER PROGRESS COULD BE MADE BY TAKING ADVANTAGE OF THE EXISTING GOVERNMENT STRUCTURE — EVEN THOUGH CERTAIN PERSONNEL MIGHT BE PURGED AND REPLACED.

"MACARTHUR TOLD ME THAT HE WOULD TAKE MY SUGGESTIONS INTO CONSIDERATION. WHETHER OR NOT MY STATEMENTS TO HIM AND HIS CHIEF OF STAFF HAD ANY WEIGHT IN DETERMINING HIS COURSE OF ACTION, I DO NOT KNOW. HOWEVER, I DO KNOW THAT THE METHOD EMPLOYED BY THE ALLIES, IN CARRYING OUT THE PURPOSES OF THE OCCUPATION, IS IN LINE WITH MY SUGGESTIONS. HENCE, I HAVE FELT A GREAT DEAL OF RESPONSIBILITY AND HAVE BEEN VERY ANXIOUS.

Feels Relieved

"NOW, HOWEVER, I FEEL RELIEVED. I BELIEVE BOTH THE ALLIES AND THE JAPANESE ARE PLEASED WITH THE RESULTS OF THE FIRST YEAR. I AM SURE THAT GREATER ACCOMPLISHMENTS WILL BE RECORDED IN THE COMING YEAR." (Shigemitsu was arrested three months after his visit to General MacArthur.)

As Shigemitsu points out, the methods employed in the Occupation of Japan *are* in line with his "suggestions."

The Japanese Government was *not* abolished or seriously weakened. A Military Government was *not* set up. The Japanese Diet (Parliament) *did* continue to function. Japanese *did* and *do* continue to run the nation. A few "purges" have been carried out, but Japan did not have "*turmoil*" nor did it have a popular revolution. The Emperor was saved and it is widely understood by the Japanese that he stopped the war to "save" humanity.

Nothing Changed

Close observers of the Occupation scene explain that the reason Shigemitsu is "relieved" and states that the Japanese are "pleased" with the Occupation of Japan, is that nothing essentially has changed.

The State apparatus—the governmental machinery of the most successful police state in history, continues to function. It has not been smashed by MacArthur. It is this police state that "faithfully carries out any and all directives" and assures that the Japanese people "cooperate" with the aims of the Occupation and "comply" with MacArthur's wishes. It is this police state which has made possible the "greatest Occupation in history."

It is this same Police State, Japanese leaders have said in confidence, which will remove the democratic window trimming from Japan when the Occupation forces depart.

Dangerous Omen

The fact that there has been no violence against the Occupation personnel, is cited by critics as proof that a police state exists, which is able to control the innumerable fanatical "blood brotherhoods" and leagues schooled in terror and sworn to nationalism. The fact that there have been no attacks on the Occupation troops is not something to be proud of, they say; instead, it is the most dangerous omen marking the degree of the failure in Japan.

An explanation of the continuance of this police state, they say, can be found in the background of Japan's major war criminals.

Out of 80,000,000 people in Japan, but 18 military and eight civilian bureaucrats have been placed on trial to bear the guilt of Japanese aggressions. None of the moneyed families who "restored" the Emperor in 1867—who controlled Japan's prewar major political parties, and who built the weapons to wage the wars which netted them so much profit—none of these are on trial. The Emperor, a substantial investor in the enterprises of the 14 moneyed families and in whose name all wars were waged, is not on trial.

Legal Kamikaze

Japanese have said that the prisoners in the box with TOJO are but scapegoats, "kamikaze legal victims", sacrificing themselves for their country. They will be heroes in future history books and the police state will reconstruct Japan as it was and once again begin the achievement of the tasks "bequeathed by the Imperial Ancestors." THE WORLD UNDER ONE (JAPANESE) ROOF.

Japanese war criminals are thinking deeply as they sit in the box month after month, awaiting the day of sentence and the final Banzai.

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A Glossary Of Indian Politics

HARIN SHAH

New Delhi, Aug 24.

TO the Anglo-Saxon people of the world, India is no longer the "domestic affair of Great Britain;" to the freedom loving people of the world, especially of Asia, she was never accepted as such. Today India is actively entering the world political picture, as the second largest republic of mankind, as the seventh nation in the world's industrial output and psychologically and strategically as the leader of countries of and beyond the Indian Ocean. In order that the Chinese may appreciate better future Indian affairs I am presenting below a glossary of Indian Politics:

INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS is by far the most outstanding politically organization in India, with branches in every province, city and village of India and led by such first rate people as Mahatma Gandhi, Jawaharlal Nehru and Sardar Patel. Inspired by Gandhi in its fight against the British rulers, Congress' official policy was "Truth and Non-violence," its technique was satyagraha and mass civil disobedience. The terrific sacrificial appeal of its leadership headed by Gandhi made Congress a synonym of India and secured for it a registered membership of over 40,000,000 people. Today, all provincial governments and the Central government of Nehru are controlled by Congress.

Dominated By Right

Congress is dominated by Big Business which finances the Party and by the Right Wing of Gandhi and Nehru, although the latter embraces the Right despite his academic sympathies for the Left. Popular feeling among Congress masses is leaning increasingly to the Left as the problems of living grow more and more acute, but the Left Wing has consistently refused to enter the new Free India Government now under Rightist control.

Under its present Rightist leadership, Congress is rapidly reconciling itself with the British, and, internally, is prepared to meet the demands of Big Business and check the demand for nationalization of basic industries and transport. The tussle between Right and Left proceeds within Congress and the Left wing expects to challenge the Right Wing within a few months when the former hopes the latter will be discredited by its failure to solve the people's problems.

MUSLIM LEAGUE, also a Government Party in Pakistan, retains Mohamed Ali Jinnah as its unchallenged leader. During the past four years it has created a vast following among Muslims by dint of appealing to religious fanatics and has thus reduced Congress to a Hindu body. The League is still on the wave of victory and is equipped with jobs and good business in Pakistan to repay the landed aristocracy and Muslim Big Business for their unflinching support. The League is the most powerful organization of the Indian Muslims, next most influential being the Communist Party which has considerable control over Muslim peasantry, proletariat and intellectuals. The Communists officially entered the League in 1945 and have since secured a foothold in the provincial cadre. But the top-leadership in the League is extremely vigilant towards the Reds and hence no Left Wing elements have so far entered the League.

Reiterated Identity

NATIONALIST MUSLIMS who were members of Congress or other pro-Congress organizations were obliged to reiterate their Muslim identity owing to the fanatic anti-Hindu propaganda of the Muslim League. However, a number of the Nationalist Muslims succumbed to the propaganda and deserted Congress to join the League. Two prominent pro-Congress organizations of the Nationalist Muslims are "Majlis-e-Ahrar" (Society of Freedom Fighters) and "Jamiat-ul-Ullema-e-Hind" (Congress of the Muslin Priests of India). However, their influence among the Muslims has severely dwindled since the League became powerful and achieved the division of India. Among the outstanding Nationalist Muslims are Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, great Arabic scholar, authority on Islam, President of Congress, 1945, and now Minister of Education in the Nehru Cabinet; Asaf Ali, Congress leader and now Indian Ambassador to the United States; and Rafi Ahmed Kidwai, Congress leader and now Minister of Communications in the Nehru Cabinet.

HINDU MAHASABHA was founded 20 years ago by Hindu aristocracy, religious and educational leaders as a counterblast to the Muslim League. For several years it was defunct but in 1937 it was revitalized by the former revolutionary barrister, V. D. Savarkar. But this association never took roots among the Hindus, whose middle class, students and intelligentsia were solidly behind the non-communal patriotic Indian National Congress. In the General Elections in 1945, Hindu Mahasabha was routed and failed to secure a single seat in Congress. Since the partition last month, Hindu Mahasabha seems to have gained some popularity among frustrated Hindu masses, but it lacks leadership and a constructive program with which to consolidate its position.

Discredited By Princes

Now, with the secession of Pakistan, it has been invaded by autocratic Hindu Princes who are discrediting the organization. Moreover, now that the Muslims have won their own State, Congress itself is coming forward to fulfil some of the sentiments of the Hindu society and culture, thereby taking the wind out of the sails of Mahasabha. One of the most prominent Mahasabha leaders has ignored his party's mandate and has joined the Nehru Cabinet as Minister for Industries and Supplies.

Just as China has been hampered by Civil War for so many years, so also India has been stigmatized by acrimonious minorities which were built up by the British as political fronts. Among the most important of these are SCHEDULED CASTES, SIKHS, INDIAN CHRISTIANS AND PARSIS.

Of the SCHEDULED CASTES, (socalled UNTOUCHABLES), the more influential political organization is the "All-India Scheduled Castes Federation." Congress has its own less influential organizations such as the "All-India Depressed Classes League" and the "All-India Harijan League." For some time past the anti-Congress Federation has been attempting a reconciliation with the Congress and its fiery leader Dr. Bhimrao Ramji Ambedkar has joined the Nehru Cabinet as Minister for Law. The Nehru Government has made the practice or Untouchability a penal crime. Scheduled Castes number 70,000,000 of which 60,000,000 still remained within India after the partition.

Revolutionary Tradition

The martial community of SIKHS was originally a branch of Hinduism. They number 5,000,000 and are principally concentrated in the Punjab and in some Sikh Native States of Punjab. The Sikhs have a revolutionary tradition of opposition to the British, have always supported Congress and have provided recruits liberally for the Indian Army. As Pakistan was being conceded to the Muslims, the demand for a separate homeland for the Sikhs outside Pakistan became powerful and was met ultimately by partitioning the Muslim majority province of Punjab. This Sikh-Punjab Eastern-Punjab has remained within the Indian Union. Eastern Punjab forms the most strategic frontier of India against Pakistan and the Muslim Middle East. In fact, historically it has been the route of the invasion of India. Two prominent Sikh parties, remarkably similar in aims, are the Akali Party and the Panthic Party. Among the leaders of the Sikhs are Master Tara Singh, Giani Kartar Singh and Sardar Baldev Singh. The latter, a Sikh, is Defense Minister in the Nehru Cabinet.

The ALL-INDIA CHRISTIAN CONFERENCE has the support of 2,000,000 Indian Christians and has always been pro-Congress. The only woman member of the Nehru Cabinet is a Christian, Rajkumari Amrit Kaur, Minister for Health. Another Christian Cabinet Minister is Dr. John Mathai, Minister for Transport, while the Vice President of the Indian Constituent Assembly is Christian Dr. H. C. Mookerjee.

The PARSIS are migrants from Persia, with a following of less than a fraction of one percent of the total population, half of which is in the city of Bombay alone. However, many outstanding industrialists and bankers are Parsi, while the House of Tatas, Asia's largest steel manufacturing plant, also famous for its work in the chemical and aviation field, is owned by a Parsi family. India's largest private bank, Central Bank of India was also founded and is still controlled by Parsis. Until recent times the Parsis gave their support to the British, but finding the situation changed and the need to show some degree of patriotism desirable, they have hurriedly changed their attitude. Minister for Commerce in the Nehru Cabinet is a Parsi, Mr. C. H. Bhabha.

Left Wing

THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA is the most dynamic and well organized party in India. Founded in 1926, although forced to remain underground until 1942, it is reputed to have a following of over 60,000. Until 1942 it was inside Congress but on the eve of the "Quit India" movement, it took the stand of the "People's War" and supported the Government War Effort, and was consequently declared a legal Party for the first time. In 1945, the Party was expelled from Congress for plotting against the "Quit India" movement. However, The Party still remains the most powerful group among the working class and of late among the small percentage of organized peasants. It has the support of a pro-Communist student organization called "All-India Student Federation."

The present party line is to support the Congress Ministers while continuing its attacks on Anglo-American policies. The Party has also captured the majority in the All-India Trade Union Congress, consequently Congress has started a rival organization of the working class, financed by Big Business. Important leaders of the Communist Party are S. A. Dange, President, A.I.T.U.C., Member, Polit Bureau of the Party; P. C. Joshi, General Secretary of the Party, Member of Polit Bureau; B. T. Randive, Member, Polit Bureau; and Dr. G. D. Adhikari, Editor of the Party Organ, "*People's Age*."

The SOCIALIST PARTY OF INDIA was hitherto known as "Congress Socialist Party" and as such was an integral part of the Congress. The Socialist Party acts as a sort of official Opposition inside the Congress, but their actual program is considerably behind the program of the British Labor Party. During the 1942 "Quit India" movement their popularity increased when the Socialists went beyond the orthodox jail-going program of the Congress High Command. They went underground and organized the Sabotage movement. Their peasant and student organizations are called the "Kisan Congress" and the "Students' Congress" respectively.

Congress masses, frustrated by the partitioning of their country and finding no solution for life's problems in the Congress Ministries, are turning increasingly towards Socialism. The Socialists are bitterly opposed to the Communist Party, charging the latter with insincerity and dishonesty in their agreements and political maneuverings. They are at present sitting on the fence, expressing occasional philosophical condemnation of the tightening grip of Big Business on the Congress Governments. Among the prominent leaders of the Socialist Party are Jai Prakash Narain, Acharya Narendra Dev and Achyut Patwardhan. Next to the Communist Party their hold over labor is the strongest.

FORWARD BLOC was founded in 1938 by Subhas Chandra Bose and is comprised of a group of confused extreme Nationalists. It is fast disintegrating.

REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNIST PARTY is a group of Trotskyite extremists led by Saumendra Nath Tagore. This party has practically no following.

RADICAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY was founded by expelled Communist Manvendra Nath Roy, familiar to China as a co-worker of Borodin in his mission on behalf of the Comintern. Roy is disowned by the Communist Party although he pays tribute to Russia. During the war his party was financed by the Government, but it has virtually no following.

In the 600 odd Native States there are "Praja Mandals" (People's Organizations) affiliated with either Congress or the Muslim League, through their respective central bodies.

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"Miracle Man" Of North Kiangsu

(The Story of Dr. Erik Rosen)

ROBERT L. COOK

NOT long ago in this land of strange contrasts a young doctor skilled in modern surgery performed a successful amputation. This in itself is not remarkable. The fact that he operated with a sharpened butcher knife is.

Encouraged by success, he removed a bladder stone the size of a grapefruit—mainly with a hammer and chisel. Following through, he began to set compound bone fractures, using old bicycle spokes for traction.

He wasn't eccentric. He was desperate. Surrounded last November by scores of badly injured and diseased Civil War casualties in the Haiyin area of north Kiangsu province, from which Communist troops had withdrawn, Dr. Erik Rosen, Danish UNRRA orthopedic surgeon, felt angered at his temporary helplessness.

He and UNRRA nurse Mabel Johnson had arrived before their supplies and equipment, delayed by military blockade. What could he—what could any doctor do with only knowledge and nearly empty hands? Valuable time was being lost.

Uses Rude Tools

Goaded by the sight of so much raw human suffering into attempting the wildest sort of surgical improvisations, Dr. Rosen went grimly to work on a mass of bloody, undressed stumps, festering, gangrenous, ulcerated legs, frostbite complicated by tetanus and demanding quick amputation. He used whatever rude tools lay at hand.

"It was," he stated thoughtfully in Shanghai recently, "as though after I had acquired the most modern technical knowledge, time had rolled backward and I was suddenly stranded in an age when even scalpels were unheard of. I just used the likeliest tools I could find and did what I could."

What he did is little short of amazing—over 300 major operations in four months, most performed under some of the worst possible conditions and a number with fantastically inadequate equipment—300 minor miracles of surgical skill.

Initially, Dr. Rosen had more to combat than poor tools and working conditions in an area where, like most parts of rural China, native doctors vigorously ply their herb and counter irritant practices. Distrustful of the blond foreign doctor and his work, the first patients, ignorant farm people, submitted to his care with deep misgivings. They became his harbingers.

Treats Many Ills

Word of his prowess spread quickly among the waiting wounded and from an object of suspicion, Dr. Rosen with his incomprehensible but soothing words and his deft skill became known as a kind of miracle worker, a wondrous healer of the sick. Nor was his work confined to the war wounded. Kala-azar, yaws, brought by the Japanese in earlier years, and syphillis were treated, along with skin rashes, dysentery and the sores of malnutrition.

The scene of the 36-year old Danish surgeon's victory over mediaeval handicaps was the war stripped Presbyterian Mission Hospital at Hwaiyin into which from sacked villages as far as 30 to 50 miles away poured a stream of wounded, some horribly maimed.

They came on foot, on the shoulders of the hale and in creaking wood axeled wheelbarrows. Some had been wounded by grenades and stray bullets, many suffered from complications and from the numerous diseases born of undernourishment and gross privation which follow in the wake of armies.

Sorely needed UNRRA medical supplies, including the shiny new surgical instruments which haunted Dr. Rosen in the midst of his primitive labors, remained unshipped in Chinkiang because of the Civil War blockade.

During the two week waiting period before the first supplies arrived Dr. Rosen and Nurse Johnson worked like beavers—beavers with only one-third of their teeth. There was the case of a man his head half severed from his body, the lower half of his right cheek gone. The unfortunate recovered after rude plastic surgery by a flashlight's rays and kerosene lamplight.

Body Sewing

During the attack on a village 60 li (20 miles) from Hwaiyin, a young mother sustained severe grenade wounds in her right arm and left side. Her three-year-old child had part of his left side blown away.

Unable to move, they lay in the ruins of their home for three days before first aid was given by Nationalist Army corpsmen. For six more days mother and child jolted in a straw filled wheelbarrow pushed by a neighbor to the hospital where the mother's arm was amputated and both torn bodies sewed and bandaged. After so much hardship and delay it was due as much to the toughness of their constitutions as to Dr. Rosen's skill that both lived.

For the area's several million inhabitants little adequate medical care had been available during and after the war before the arrival of Dr. Rosen and Nurse Johnson. Medical teams of the National Health Association and the Provincial Bureau of Public Health were conducting outpatient clinics, but facilities for the more serious surgical cases and indoor care of patients were lacking.

Conditions at this and other hospitals in the region, depleted and poorly staffed for long war years were indescribably bad. Operating rooms, wards and corridors were filthy. Supplies were few. Although most nurses wore gowns, the majority were untrained refugees. Others possessed only a rudimentary knowledge of hygiene and medical care. Families, permitted by Chinese custom to move in with patients, prepared food in the wards, with the result that fly covered trash littered the floors.

Before Dr. Rosen and his nurse could undertake even their first makeshift care of the streams of waiting patients, they had personally to conduct a vigorous house cleaning. Fortunately, a few days after their arrival they were joined by a missionary nurse of excellent calibre, Miss Margaret Wood.

Hygiene Enforced

At the trio's firm insistence, superfluous staff members were let go, those remaining impressed with the necessity for cleanliness. The kitchen, dirty and unused, was renovated and reopened. The operating room was scrubbed and a list made of usable supplies and instruments. It was not a long list.

In the last half year, conditions have progressively improved. During Dr. Rosen's four months of steady accomplishment, UNRRA medical supplies arrived and were distributed by CNRRA to hospitals throughout the area. With them came UNRRA flour to feed the hospital's free patients, who comprise the majority treated, and to pay coolies for the delivery of supplies and instruments.

For patients who can pay, the charge at the Presbyterian Mission Hospital is very small—a token payment. Without the UNRRA flour, restoration of the hospital would have been seriously delayed. Today, war damages have been repaired and an UNRRA engineer has helped to install electricity so that operations can be performed at night.

Recently, a woman needing an emergency abdominal operation was received late in the afternoon. Without electric light it would have been impossible to operate one hour after the patient arrived. Delay until morning would have been fatal.

The hospital, supported by the South Presbyterian Mission Board, now has the services of an American doctor, appointed to carry on the improvement of the hospital and the standards of medical treatment in the area.

UNRRA Supplies

Not only this hospital, but a number of other medical institutions in the region have received UNRRA medical supplies and flour and the trained services of Dr. Rosen, Miss Johnson and other UNRRA doctors and nurses and UNRRA medical teams operating out of Chinkiang have

Time Said Running Out On Production Pacts

J. R. KAIM

NEWS from New York last week disclosed that nylon stocking prices there have declined again. What is described as "sheer nylon, first quality" is retailed at US$0.88 a pair, while silk stockings are available at US$0.59. Compare such prices with hosiery quotations in China, where silk is grown, and whatever explanations may be offered for the higher prices here, the fact remains that the difference is tremendous. But price discrepancies between wholesale export quotations and retail prices in China are also staggering. In some fields the retail price is about 100 percent above the ex-factory quotation.

No one can claim that American retailers have light overhead expenses. They are constantly reckoning with high rents and high taxes, their payrolls show mounting figures and publicity is expensive. But in spite of such handicaps, they are obliged to calculate by the quarter cent, a method our merchants here, Chinese and foreign alike, are hardly able to recall.

Calculation Exact

Calculation in America—and very soon in Europe—has to be very narrow and very exact not only in order to offer cheap commodities and to keep consumption on a high level but also because production is increasing rapidly. True in some lines production is still far behind demand, but such exceptions hardly reflect on the general situation.

Recently, for instance, there was a sharp dispute between tung oil importers, on the one side, and a journal representing American tung oil interests on the other. Importers who get their cargo from China, were accused of destroying, with the help of Chinese vegetable oil organizations, the young American tung oil industry. The Chinese were accused of applying dumping methods which, of course, resulted in rapidly dropping prices; the Americans are unable to produce at such a low price and may have to abandon tung tree cultivation, it was said. The question was asked as to what would happen if America were to be cut off from Chinese tung oil supplies in the event of another war.

It matters little who was right or wrong in this argument: the Chinese shippers and their American business colleagues, or American producers of tung oil. The significant thing is that tung oil is but one example of how the ups and downs of business cycles do not always depend of on internal conditions and that economic ills are liable to lead to demands for "protection."

Over Production Menace

This, of course, is particularly true when world economy suffers from over production. Just as China today is faced with an over production of certain oils and silk-replacing textiles, the entire world may soon be confronted with an over production of manufactured goods.

One of the remedies recommended for many decades, and up to now accepted only by a few nations, is the foundation of Customs Unions. It seems that there is some hope that such a federation will be established in Europe at least. Customs Unions may be a means of avoiding industrial over production as well as helping to increase consumption and teaching nations that "protection" is no real remedy at all. In fact, one cannot ask for "protection" for imports, although it is reasonable to ask for "open doors" when one's own exports are concerned. And this is exactly what many nations have done and are still doing.

It will take some time until the 13 nations now discussing the possibilities of a European Customs Union come to an agreement—if this goal is possible. Even then there will be more nations outside than inside the union and competition will continue as before. In other words, as long as nations fail to surrender economic independence in favor of the common good there will always be uncontrolled production, uncontrolled distribution of commodities, uncontrolled competition and the ever present danger of over production on the one hand and dumping on the other.

Tung Oil "Dumped"

As mentioned above, China has been accused of "dumping" the tung oil market, but it is not within the province of this article to decide whether or not this has actually happened. But the fact remains that controlled economies—and as long as The Central Trust is an exporting concern, China's exports will be regarded as controlled—when in need of foreign exchange resort to the cutting of prices. Such sporadic sales at low prices unsettle international trade and production, while the advantage to the exporting country is but temporary. Although some producers abroad may be discouraged when cheap imports are offered on their own domestic markets, the majority will continue to produce. Evidently "dumping" is no remedy for over production.

Imagine what over production will mean once Europe's industries are again working at full blast. American industrial activities at present are reported to be "roaring along at 85 percent above the prewar level," and many industries are unable to fill the demand. But what will happen when the Marshall Plan for aid to Europe goes into effect? What will be the result when, according to plan, German steel mills return to their 1936 figures?

"The American Chemical Society sounds a warning note," said a recent *AP* report. "That slowly reviving production in Europe may soon begin to give American producers competition, but with exports of American chemicals running four times greater than before the war, the industry isn't worried yet." But once British production figures begin to grow and German competition is on its way to recapture lost world markets, to say nothing of Japan's industrial recovery, there will be ample cause for worry.

Big Trusts Aware

Of course, the big trusts were well aware of how to avoid the consequences of over production. They had their international cartels and their methods for excluding certain exports from certain markets. They had their patent licensing agreements, their price fixing agreements and their allocation of trade territories. They also had their giant profits. But where such agreements were bound to lead was shown before, during and after the war: to higher prices, scarce supplies in periods of emergency and special private tariff barriers.

Certainly, those who are not dependent on or involved in the business methods of the great concerns and trusts do not wish to see their power increased solely in order to check the consequences of over production. International cartels may be anti-depression weapons but they are not to be used for "solving" the problem of over production. This can only be done by intergovernmental agreements, by international control and by the combined efforts of people who are not interested in market manipulation. Towards the end of the war there was much talk

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toured the entire area. Government, provincial, mission and private hospitals in Chinkiang, Yangchow, Kaoyu, Hwaian, Paoying, Sungkiang, Nantung, Hwaiyin and other points received assistance.

Dr. Rosen, after several months of post-UNRRA work with the World Health Organization of the United Nations, which is continuing much of UNRRA's medical work in China, has gone to the United States. He leaves behind him, in North Kiangsu province, a singularly impressive record of achievement. Working with the mental but few of the material assets of modern medical science, his was a triumph of mind and heart, an outstanding individual contribution to needy postwar China and to the annals of medical accomplishment.

about such international cooperation. At present there is much talk about the various obstacles confronting such cooperation.

Important News

Shanghai newsmen considered that short cable on nylon prices declines important. They presented that short item in special "boxes" and one paper even carried it as front page news. For whether or not one is in favor of nylon stockings, that little piece of news showed that all is not well with international silk and silk-substitute textile production. Furthermore, there are indications that a similar trend will be shown in other lines as well.

When the times comes for wheat to be used as fuel again in Canada, for coffee again to be buried at the bottom of the sea—while the respective governments pay for unmarketable goods—and when cotton will again be the poorest crop imaginable, it will be too late to arrive at any agreements. Countries interested in selling raw products abroad and forced to buy other products needed by their own industries at cheap, not cartelized prices, should be the first to struggle for international production programs. Those countries which are not highly industrialized are especially endangered. Over production, dumping and international cartelization are economic diseases, jeopardizing the security of the financially weaker countries—of which China is one. Fat profits now pocketed by so many traders—thanks to the restrictions on imports which has created an artificial sellers market—fail to alter this fundamental fact.

"China Broadcasting"

BILL CONINE

CHINA'S first public broadcasting station was established in Shanghai about the year 1922. As in every other country, the new "thing" advanced with "seven league strides" until the recent war, during which broadcasting accomplished as much as it had in all the years before, with all nations fighting a huge radio propaganda war.

Amazing advances are being made daily in the countries that pioneered this tremendous 20th century industry. But in China after the war, the broadcasting industry began moving faster than ever—backwards. There can be no denial that much improvement was made initially in China in 1946 with the adoption of new radio regulations. But at the end of 1946, more than two-thirds of the more than 100 radio stations on the dial in Shanghai had been closed down.

Two Categories

Today Shanghai's radio stations may be placed in two categories: (1) Eighteen privately owned stations which share nine frequencies....each station broadcasting 15 days a month. These stations are assorted commercial stations, religious stations, and some which operate for political purposes. (2) There are three stations characterized as "party" stations (one foreign language and two Chinese) which are allowed to operate at full time every day, with apparently uncontrolled privileges, and one station without a PRIVATE BROADCASTING licence, which operates in anticipation of eventually receiving such a license.

In addition there are another dozen or more radio stations, most of which operate full time every day in an unauthorized capacity, with apparent immunity from closure, although unlicensed. They operate with far less restrictions imposed than the 18 licensed stations. Some are reportedly owned by high officials or their relatives.

As for the 18 "lucky" station owners who received licenses, they are the victims of a split frequency system that was virtually abandoned in almost every country in the world many years ago. With the revenue from 15 days of broadcasting a month, these stations must still employ a staff for the entire month. With radio advertising rates approximately five times lower than anywhere else in the commercial radio world, their revenue must return a fair investment on their expensive equipment and provide a profit for the operator. It is also fairly well established that authorized and unauthorized stations must donate "gifts" of remuneration to small officials who "allow" them to operate.

Some of the stations now broadcasting provide a commendable service to the public. Peiping opera and drama broadcasts, direct from theaters, are great service features to many who are financially unable to attend such performances in the theater. News is capably reported by some stations, but closely controlled in content. Good live talent programs are available on some stations occasionally, but these cases are the exception.

Low Class Comedy

Most Chinese stations broadcast a vast amount of low class comedy, in one hour daily programs, to which most people are not psychologically inclined to listen for more than 15 to 30 minutes daily, and in many cases the most shocking, lewd and vulgar language spoken in any of the world's gutters is employed.

Although there is a broadcasters guild among the authorized stations, it has done nothing towards promoting organized business principles among stations. Rates fixed by the guild are "chiselled," bargained, discounted for "special" purposes and otherwise maladjusted. Little more than starvation wages and profits are possible under the authorized system, while some of the authorized stations wax fat on unhampered operations.

At best there are less than a dozen highly skilled radio engineers in China, (exclusive of foreigners) who are capable of installing and maintaining a proper broadcasting station. Ninety percent of China's radio artists are lacking in knowledge of simple studio technique, with respect to the best microphone position to achieve 'finished" broadcasting results. In almost no radio station is there any one capable of showing artists how such things should be done.

Senseless Commercials

Chinese stations have further retarded their own advancement by employing senseless longwinded commercials, half-hour or one hour "reading from book" broadcasts, (statistics show that listeners will not listen to other than a world leader for longer than 15 minutes of uninterrupted speech) and the ridiculous wording used in commercials and scripts.

Yet with all these dificiencies, no provision has been made to allow sufficient revenue for authorized radio stations which would enable them to reinvest their profits in trained personnel, better equipment and a higher degree of broadcasting material.

Seeking the reason for this "fettered" operation of broadcasting stations, we arrive at the obvious conclusion that China has a "plan" for radio broadcasting in the near future. She must choose between three possible types of operation. (a) She may be planning nationalization of radio broadcasting, in which case the burden of broadcasting expense will be born solely by the Government, taken from other more urgent projects or from additional taxes which the public could hardly bear at this time. Obviously, this is looking well ahead into the future. (b) She may elect the private, free enterprise type of broadcasting which prevails in the United States. Thereby she would be able to tax radio stations, which, if allowed unhampered operation with nominal common sense control, would easily bear the cost of proper policing forces and still return the Government a reasonable income—rather than the "squeeze" said to be diverted to the pockets of minor local officials at present. Chinese and foreign merchants in the great majority are eager for this type of broadcast-

ing and would support it handsomely. Present and past commercial broadcasting records supports this contention. (c) China could be considering a combination of these two types of broadcasting: Commercial NATIONALIZED operation, in which case the Government would have a powerful monopoly.

Forced Sales

All present indications point to the latter type of operation. Curtailing the potentialities of present stations so drastically could lead to no other object than the "forced sales" of stations at the buyer's price. Also "party" stations have contracts of several years to operate commercially in an unrestricted manner, which favored position would certainly indicate more *Governmental* broadcasting profit than *private* broadcasting profit. Rarely is any reinvestment of these profits discernible in these "party" station improvements, and it is evident that they do not follow regulations as to the percentage of educational and public service programs required.

The four very best radio stations in China, finding the intricacies of political "connections and angles" of securing licenses too involved, are now off the air. With two or three exceptions, these are the only radio broadcasting stations in Shanghai worthy of receiving a broadcasting license on a technical and experience basis.

Semi-private broadcasting stations at present also harbor unsavory elements of personnel who worked in similar capacities for broadcasting stations operated by the Japanese during the war. The extent to which these people are used is "shocking." This is the type that is "bootlegging" commercials over the stations for which they work and withhold the "bootlegged" revenue from the station owners.

China's radio broadcasting needs to make a fresh start. There is an urgent need to back up and consider common sense regulations that would place proper moral restrictions on indecent broadcasting; require proper qualifications for each technical setup, as there are not more than six or seven stations worthy of a license on the basis of equipment at present; and proper standards for broadcasting personnel of character and ability—there are precious few who could qualify in this category today.

New Talent Needed

Radio broadcasting should be allowed to become popular and made attractive enough to new talent so that broadcasting courses could be instituted in schools and become a worthwhile project. Training of personnel on a broad, public scale should be encouraged so that qualified persons, rather than "hungry relatives" and persons with an "in" would begin producing radio programs.

Broadcasting should be regarded as a public utility combining certain obligations on the part of the broadcaster, the controlling authority and the listener. The broadcaster must make his station available to the public in times of emergency (floods, typhoons, fires and other disasters), for traffic and health campaigns, for educational aims of the nation, and adopt moral conscience towards broadening the scope of the listening public's views and raising the standard of culture by good and informative entertainment.

Monitoring Needed

The controlling authority should carefully monitor stations at various intervals to determine the "moral attitude" of their programs, to check their over or undermodulating frequencies so as to prevent interference with other stations, to determine whether they are operating in the best technical and moral manner at all times, and also to guard carefully against the subversive use of broadcasting stations, which cannot be checked by merely "screening" employes as is done at present. Above all he must design radio laws which will allow the public the maximum benefits that broadcasting can provide.

As for the listener, his obligation is to assert his rights to his Government in order to obtain those things he most needs from broadcasting, and he must demand of the broadcaster those things which should be expected from a public service institution.

There are radio receiving sets on the market today which operate from flashlight batteries and cost upwards from US$0.50 to manufacture and should be easily within the purchasing power of most Chinese. Adequate radio station equipment is scattered far and wide in many hands throughout China. This equipment should be assembled in a pool and used to augment the needs of the several qualified broadcasting stations; (with strict requirements for technical setups, this equipment would thus be purchaseable by the better station operators.) There is available trained personnel to conduct courses which would provide adequately equipped talent and employees for radio stations. No foreign exchange need go out of China, but promotion of the sale of China made products is a worthy object.

Rejuvenate Industry

Radio broadcasting, proven in recent years to be the most powerful selling factor in the field of mass merchandizing, could do much towards rejuvenating China's industries, as it did in the United States after the last war. Broadcasting also reaches people in remote places where it is now impossible to reach large masses through the printed word. China's illiteracy is such that printed matter cannot possible have the impact of the spoken word—in Mandarin or in various dialects—in giving information and promoting the education of the masses.

Private broadcasting offers far more revenue to the Government through taxes than does the "present semi-Government" system, or a Government operated system which is outside of financing possibilities. Revenue would accrue to the Government, instead of reaching the pockets of local "squeeze" artists, as it reportedly does at present.

Unhampered, but sensibly controlled, free enterprise broadcasting is the only answer for China, but the present approach to the problem is leading to a reverse situation.

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PASSENGERS — AIRFREIGHT — AIRMAIL

Commodity Prices Register Hikes

DESPITE the good harvest for the current season, the price of rice increased during the week under review to CNC$600,000 per picul. Many reasons were offered to explain this phenomenon and the most important one was said to be the "precautionary measures" taken by the authorities of the rice producing districts, who instituted restrictions against the free export of rice.

The situation remained serious, although it was ruled by the Central Government that rice movements in cities and villages along the Yangtze River will not be restricted by local offices.

With the uptrend in the price of rice, quotations for all other foodstuffs, including edible oil, increased during the week. Although the local authorities promised to dump edible oil and foodstuffs on the market to press down prices, so far no appreciable decline has been noted.

Other Prices Up

Aside from foodstuffs, prices of all other commodities increased during the week, including cotton yarn, cotton cloth, raw silk, artificial silk, paper, dyestuffs, chemicals, cigarettes, matches and others. This rise was due more to the runaway inflation than anything else. The effect of the new economic control measures announced by the authorities in August seemed to have disappeared again. Rumors are current to the effect that the market exchange rate will be drastically raised. Meanwhile, the market rate has been upped to CNC$40,500 by the Foreign Exchange Stabilization Committee.

It must be mentioned that although black market dealings in gold bars and greenbacks must still exist, business has been very limited in recent weeks. This situation was created not so much by the new exchange and import measures of August 17, as by the activities of the economic police in the city. Daily arrests are reported, scaring away most of the operators. Meanwhile, quotations remained quiet because of limited business.

Stocks Quiet

In the Shanghai Securities Exchange, business was quiet and quotations fell generally. This was due not so much to the slightly tight money situation caused by the Government banks, which called in large sums in recent days, but by the lack of interest in these stocks. It seems that idle capital has shifted its activities to commodities. Quotations of foreign stocks, which appreciated considerably during the week because of increasing activities of the Trust Department of the Bank of China, also fell on the first day of this week.

Still another reason which may be mentioned regarding the weak trend in the stock market was the report that shares of the China Textile Industries Inc., will soon be issued, in compliance with the decision of the Government to sell these factories. These shares will be traded in the Shanghai Securities Exchange. Well informed operators are reported to have sold stocks and shares which they had held for some time in order to prepare themselves to absorb large numbers of China Textiles Industries shares.

The total assets of the China Textile Industries Inc., according to the latest investigation, were around CNC$100,000,000, in terms of the purchasing power of the dollar in 1937.

The following table gives the quotations of some of the leading commodities in Shanghai:

	Week Ending Sept. 6 CNC$	Week Ending Sept. 13 CNC$
Bond C	14,500	12,000
Wing On Textile	235	242
Mayar Silk ..	388	390
Ewo Cotton ..	87,000	105,000
Rice	480,000	540,000
Wheat flour ..	128,000	128,000
Peanut oil ...	990,000	1,000,000
20's yarn	12,100,000	13,800,000
Raw silk	30,500,000	32,500,000
Rayon	26,200,000	29,900,000
Ruby Queen Cigarette ..	163,000	154,000
Koo Ban soap	545,000	575,000
My Dear Matches	3,650,000	3,450,000
Newsprint ..	430,000	510,000

EVENTS IN BRIEF

Smuggled Japanese goods including woollen and rayon goods, fountain pens and drugs have been discovered in the market of Canton recently, which are believed to have been smuggled into the city from Macao, reported the *Sin Wan Pao* recently.

* * *

The local Chinese community in Shanghai hailed Dr. T. V. Soong's contribution of all his personal shares in the China Development Finance Corporation for the relief of deceased Kuomintang members' families, said the *China Press* recently. This was the first substantial action on the part of China's multi-billionaires on the eve of the levying of a special tax on all wealthy Chinese nationals.

* * *

Egyptian stevedores of Port Said have decided to boycott Dutch vessels, *TASS* reported from Cairo. The newspaper, *Sautalumma*, published a letter from the Port Said stevedores declaring that out of solidarity with the Indonesian people, they have decided to boycott Dutch steamers crossing the Suez Canal and have already taken the necessary steps to this end. However, the Canal Zone police, on their part, have taken measures to prevent the boycott. Port Said dockers have condemned the actions of the authorities, declaring them to be offensive towards the feelings of Oriental peoples toward the Indonesian Republic.

* * *

The Soviet Consul-General in Tientsin, Mr. I. F. Kurdukoff, lodged a vigorous protest with Dr. C. C. Chi, head of the local office of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, against an alleged invasion of the Soviet Consulate-General last week by about 100 armed Chinese soldiers, the Soviet Daily, *Novosti Dnia* reported. The Chinese soldiers are said to have forced the watchman to surrender the keys to the gates of the compound at gunpoint and invaded the premises on the pretext of searching the building. Upon learning that the Chinese authorities had been informed of the incident the intruders withdrew. Shortly afterwards representatives of the Garrison Headquarters and police called on the Soviet Consul-General to tender their apologies. They are reported to have promised to trace the identity of the invading groups and punish them.

A movement by employees of the Central Bank, Bank of China, Farmers Bank, Bank of Communications and the Central Trust, to oppose Premier Chang Chun's decision to cut the pay of Government-operated firms down to "white collar" level was reported by the *Shanghai Evening Post & Mercury*. The employees opposed the Government move to peg their incomes as much as 30 percent lower on the grounds that their current wages are not high but that the income of "white collar" workers is "too low."

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NEWS OF THE WEEK

Reds Announce Counter Offensive In Areas North Of Yangtze

A LENGTHY *New China News Agency* editorial of September 12 announced the beginning of the "great counter offensive," and a struggle for the provinces north of the Yangtze River.

"Our armies have already gone over to the counter offensive on the southern front—east to north Kiangsu, west to Shensi, and south to the Yangtze River," the paper, published somewhere in North Shensi, declared. The editorial further said that the Communist armies have already fought into the rear Kuomintang areas, and added that they were firmly entrenched in the Tai Pieh mountain region.

This counter offensive, the paper cautioned, should not be interpreted as signifying that there will be no difficulties for the Communist forces. "The people's army will meet with difficulties and must undergo a relatively long period of bitter struggle and large scale destruction of Chiang's armies...."

To achieve this aim, the paper revealed that "working personnel has been dispatched into the areas invaded by General Liu Po-cheng's forces, to activate the masses of the people, to establish a democratic administration, carrying out of land reform, arming the people and cooperating with patriotic elements from all social strata."

The tenor of the editorial allowed the interpretation that the Communists expect to remain in the newly invaded areas for a lengthy period of time, but believe the going will be hard.

Drive Against Liu

On the other side of the lines, pro-Government reports claimed that the Nationalist forces had captured Yingshan, 85 miles east of Hankow, in a drive to check Liu Po-cheng's armies "which are still raising havoc on the Hupeh-Anhwei border."

Dr. Hollington Tong, Government information director, denied rumors that two regiments of Government troops had gone over to the Reds in the Hankow area at the approach of Liu's forces, and said that there is no necessity for the Government to patrol the Yangtze and to impose curfew on vessels plying the river.

Meanwhile, reinforcements for Nationalist forces in Hankow have reportedly arrived from Canton. The arrival of these reinforcements has prompted military observers to conclude that it is only a matter of time before Liu Po-cheng will be driven back across the Yellow River.

Tong Says Red Defeats Expected Soon

DR. Hollington Tong, Government information director, told the press this week that "events in the next few weeks will show clearly that it is the Government and not the Communist rebels that have the initiative in fighting." He predicted the Communists would suffer "serious defeat in the near future." Reviewing the military situation north of the Yangtze, Tong said the three Communist armies in Shantung, Honan and Anhwei were now 300 miles apart with the Government occupying the space between them. He said they were facing "annihilation separately." Earlier, General Pai Chung-hsi is reported to have predicted that the Communists would be eliminated from Shantung by the end of the month.

Policy Vacillation

In an interview with the *United Press* this week, on the eve of General Wedemeyer's submission of his report to President Truman, Dr. Sun Fo, vice-president of the National Government, aired the future possible course that Chinese foreign policy might have to take in case American aid was not forthcoming soon.

Sun Fo declared, likewise, that a peaceful settlement might result with the Communists if "China were forced to gravitate closer to the Soviet Union." The vice-president also called on Soviet Russia to implement the Sino-Soviet treaty by "returning Dairen," although the Soviets maintain that they are strictly adhering to the agreement.

On the whole, Dr. Sun's statement at this hour was interpreted as a kind of warning to Wedemeyer, and the notice of "things to come," if he did not recommend speedy aid to the Kuomintang.

Wu Disappointed

Earlier in the week, Secretary General of the Kuomintang Wu Techen, speaking before the Central Executive Committee Plenary Session, expressed his disappointment at the alleged inattention on the part of Wedemeyer to the problem of American banks disclosing information pertaining to Chinese assets in the U.S. What he said amounted to the assertion that the Kuomintang was willing to utilize these assets, but that the Americans themselves would not let it.

While aid in the form of greenbacks was not yet arriving, it was announced in Nanking that the personnel of the Military Advisory Group had moved into the offices of the Ministry of National Defense to facilitate "coordination."

The Home Front

The Democratic National Reconstruction Association in a conference with industrial and business leaders passed a resolution that trade with Japan should not be resumed until the signing of the peace treaty. It also decided that the writing of the peace pact must be in agreement with the Potsdam decisions and that this treaty should under no circumstances be written unilaterally by any country. China should not attend a conference on this issue unless all nations involved are present, while the veto power should be retained. The conference urged a "certain power" not to rebuild Japan.

In Kweiyang, the *Li Pao* was banned for pro-Communist views. The *Chung Yang Jih Pao*, KMT mouthpiece, explained the measure as follows:

"Careful observers noted that the paper had pro-Communist views." Sentences such as "The large armed force under the command of General Liu Po-cheng struck southward," and "During the past year the Communist troops in North Kiangsu have carried out the agrarian reform policy. Having won the support of the farmers, they have been instilled with new blood again," had appeared in the paper's editorials.

"Therefore," the *Chung Yang Jih Pao* said, "the paper was finally banned by the competent authorities on September 10."

For background, the official organ said the *Li Pao* was formerly owned by a group of business and political leaders, including Ping Kang, Chairman of the Kweichow Provincial Government. Then the *Lê Pao* passed into the hands of a certain Li Tsi-en, who "always expressed absurd views in the paper."

Girl Students Arrested

The *Ta Kung Pao* reported the arrest of three girl students in Shanghai this week when they attempted to post leaflets on the walls of the Social Affairs Bureau building. The content of the leaflets was considered too radical, and included demands that teacher's pay be hiked, the national budget allocation for education be increased, and that students be allowed to conduct fund raising campaigns. The leaflets asserted that "the authorities disregard the livelihood of the teachers," and asked for a minimum hourly pay of CNC$75,000 for university professors.

As a result of strong opposition by Chinese tea merchants, the Central Trust has decided to sell 50 percent of its tea to foreign firms, such as the Jardine, Matheson of Britain and the Yung Sin Company of France, while the remaining 50 percent will be sold to Chinese firms. It may be recalled that the Central Trust collected a total of 1,000,000 pounds of tea last year, of which one third is red tea and the remainder green tea, said the *Ta Kung Pao*.

What U.S. Papers Say . . .

RUSSIA's role in the defeat of Japan, reaction to Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek's address to the Central Executive Committee and Indo-China and Indonesia were subjects of editorials in the U.S. press last week.

* * *

Russia

"RUSSIA'S contribution to the Pacific war is a target for current challenge, partly because of present Soviet expansionism and particularly because of controversy as to when and by whom a Japanese treaty shall be written. Reminders are frequent that the Soviet hostilities against Japan—which began August 8, 1945, two days after Hiroshima—won Russia belligerent status at small cost and resulted in vast extension of Soviet influence," declared the *Christian Science Monitor*, well known Boston paper.

"Yet was this Russia's sole contribution to Pacific victory? Through many uncertain Pacific campaigns Russian troops on the Manchurian border had kept Japan's crack Kwantung Army immobilized, a significant contribution to Allied victory. Meanwhile, Soviet neutrality in the Orient enabled Russia to devote almost its full resources to the war against Germany—a fact which may have meant the difference between defeat and victory at decisive points, including Stalingrad. For long months, possible Russian embroilment in the Orient was viewed in Allied capitals as anything but desirable.

"Further, it needs to be considered that the Yalta promises—by which Russia pledged to go to war against Japan in return for rights in Sakhalin and the Kuriles—were made without any clear knowledge that Japan already was near defeat. Thus Russia's "one week of war" with Japan does not by itself present an accurate or complete perspective. The war against the Axis must be viewed as a whole.....Intransigent Russian policies clearly call for stern countermeasures in hammering out a Japanese peace. But let such measures be on the merits of those policies—not on the dubious ground that Russia contributed little towards victory," concluded the paper.

* * *

China

COMMENTING on Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek's address to the Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang, the *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin* maintained that: "He (Chiang) charged there was inefficiency, laziness, incompetence and lack of revolutionary spirit in the Government party and said that many had put selfish interests above patriotism.....

"General Wedemeyer's criticism was resented by many prominent members of the Kuomintang because the strictures of a foreigner had caused them and the party to lose face. Now that a Chinese has taken up the criticisms there is no question of loss of face and censure can be accepted with good grace. The question now is, has Chiang the serious purpose and power to deal radically with the faults in the Kuomintang he admits?"

The *Saint Louis Post-Dispatch* was of the opinion that "Chiang Kai-shek's exhortation to the Kuomintang to cleanse itself is a contradiction in terms. The dominant right wing of the Kuomintang has a vested interest in corruption. Bad government is profitable to these men and they don't have any idea of doing anything about it except holding on like grim death. What is demanded is a thorough housecleaning....Chiang is mouthing words when he invokes the spirit of revolution. That revolution has worn itself out and what is wanted in China is a brand new one —a purifying wind....China requires a government that can deserve the loyalty of a united country." concluded the *Post-Dispatch*.

* * *

Indo-China & Indonesia

"THERE is a growing similarity between the march of events in Indo-China and in Indonesia," remarked the *New York Times*. "When the Vietnam-French accord of March 6, 1946, was signed in Hanoi, there was hope everywhere that here had been found a formula for peaceful transition from colonialism to self-government. It formed a pattern for negotiations in Indonesia. East and west were to work together as partners instead of as white master and brown native. After the months of negotiation the French finally 'lost their patience' and began military action at Hanoi. After nine months they appear to be no better off militarily than they were last December....

"Events have followed more or less the same pattern in Indonesia, although there the climate—until military action was begun on July 20 —was much more favorable to settlement than in Indo-China. But in Indonesia too, the Dutch finally 'lost patience' and eventually moved to impose their own solution. They met less organized resistance at the start than did the French, but there is no guarantee that the situation will not develop into prolonged guerilla warfare, as is the case in Indo-China. Unless the United Nations program is quickly implemented the chances seem better than ever that it will so degenerate," said the *Times*.

The *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette* said: 'The choice of Australia as its representative on the UN three-power mediation commission by Indonesia comes as no surprise. Australia from the first has favored the cause of the Republicans. Indeed, since the day her dock workers refused to load and unload Dutch shipping in protest to her colonial war, Australia has been the most popular foreign nation among Indonesians."

Who's Who in China

JENNINGS WONG, university professor and Government official; born at Shanghai in 1901; received secondary education in Canton; graduated from Fuhtan University, Shanghai; studied at

Wong Jen-ling (Jennings Wong)

(王人麟)

University of Washington, receiving B.A., 1923 and M.A., 1925 from University of Chicago; upon returning to China, was appointed professor of Fuhtan University, Chi-tze University, Sun Yat-sen University and Central Political Institute, 1925-29; dean of Law College, National Chinan University, 1929-30; director of International Labour Organization, 1930-31; commissioner of Finance, Nanking Municipal Government, 1932-33; representative to Burma Highway Inspection Mission; deputy-director of CNRRA Shanghai Regional Office, 1945-46; now, acting chief of Preparatory Commission of International Refugee Organization of Far East; address: United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration PCIRO Far East, Embankment Building, Shanghai.

The dockyard strike which has paralyzed Hongkong's ship movements for the past three weeks was settled and workers agreed to return to work after obtaining wage increases, reported *Reuters*. The Chinese Engineers Institute said that while the increases were satisfactory they did not meet the demands of the strikers. No one, neither the management nor the strikers, were prepared to reveal the new standard of pay which would prevail.

* * *

General Chang Chun, President of the Executive Yuan, stated that the Government has spent CNC$30,000,000,000,000 up to August of this year. The President reported to the Fourth Plenary Session of the Kuomintang that the Government will be able to receive CNC$23,000,000,000,000 from taxes by the end of the year, the *Financial Daily* said.

* * *

A haul of 17,000 pounds of shark's fins and large quantities of other sea foods was made on what is believed to be the first Japanese smuggling ship seized by the authorities, the Preventive Office of the Shanghai Customs revealed. The "Chen Hsing," a mechanized sailboat carrying no identification papers, was seized by the Customs near Woosung. The Japanese captain of the vessel, who had neither passport nor permit, escaped. The smuggled goods and ship, valued at CNC$1,500,000,000 are being detained by the Customs authorities.

What Chinese Papers Say

DURING the past week the Chinese press devoted space to such diverse topics as bloc oconomy on an international scale, the Big Five's veto power and other aspects of the United Nations Organization, corruption and inefficiency in high places in China and the peace conference with Japan.

* * *

Bloc Economy

THE possibility of another complicated bloc economic situation comparable to that prevailing prior to the last war was seen by the *Ta Kung Pao* which continued by pointing out: "The facts before our eyes are sufficient to convince us that bloc economy is a dead alley. We hope that the World Bank and International Monetary Fund, whose conference is now in session in London, will carry out the functions which it should carry out and help these countries which are now in difficulties to solve part of their economic problems.

"At the same time, those countries which are now economically able to extend aid to other countries should realize that to extend aid to other countries is to enable the latter to cooperate with them in propping up the edifice of economic development. If all the nations of the world except one were faced with economic crises, that one nation alone certainly would not be able to enjoy prosperity. Therefore, in helping the needy countries, the nation extending aid should pay special attention to the development of the productive power of those countries and nurture their ability to repay the loans received. We hope that the foreign loan policy of the United States is designed not only to develop her overseas markets, but also to absorb the products of the countries receiving aid, so that the latter will be able to pay interest and also to repay the principal," concluded the *Ta Kung Pao*.

* * *

Veto Power

THE *Chung Yang Jih Pao* declared that "The system of the Big Five's veto power was decided upon on the basis of the principle of unanimous agreement among the Big Five. This important principle was not only the principal cause for the fact that this last anti-aggression war has proved a complete success, but is the keystone for the establishment of the United Nations Organization and of peace and order in the post war world."

This paper pointed out that China's position is in no way comparable to that of the United States, Great Britain or Soviet Russia who have the support of satellite nations and vast resources. China is more in need of the veto power than any of the other Big Four in order to protect her interests. "Especially in the forthcoming peace conference on Japan will China's interests be different from those of the other Allied nations. On those occasions when China's rights and privileges and her stand are not respected by other Allied nations, it will be necessary for her to make use of this legitimate privilege bestowed upon her by the UN Charter in order to protect herself diplomatically.

"From this it can be seen that the system of the veto power for the Big Five is more beneficial to China, so we certainly should not lightly give it up. Nor should we lightly agree to a revision of the Charter whereby the veto power, i.e., the power of unanimous agreement among the Big Five, will be abolished, for in this way we shall lose our weapon for self defence," said the *Chung Yang Jih Pao*.

* * *

UNO

PRESIDENT Roosevelt's ideal of the United Nations Organization is quite different from the one existing today, said the *Ta Kung Pao*. "It is a UNO born after the appearance of the atomic bomb. If the UNO's keystone is the veto power, then the keystone of the veto power is the Big Five, especially the harmonious relations between the United States and Soviet Russia. However, since the Potsdam Conference, there have been no more conferences of the heads of the great Powers, which means that unanimous agreement among the great Powers no longer exists. The UNO has gone aground and will remain so for an indefinite period of time.

"The problem now is whether we should let the United States and the Soviet Union wrangle with each other at the conference table or whether we should allow them to secretly prepare for war against each other," continued the paper. "The fact that Molotov has used the veto power at the conference table too many times has caused many people a headache; but if the Soviet Union should disappear from the membership roster of the UNO, which would mean that there would be no more wrangling, would the task of building world peace thereby make any progress?"

The *Ta Kung Pao* held the view that this "open wrangling among the great Powers at the conference table should be looked upon as a small measure of political progress that has been made in the post war period. Once the UNO becomes an organization all of whose members hold the same views, and once the dissentient party gloomily severs its relations with the organization and makes positive preparations for war, it will be even harder to maintain the present precarious peace...."

* * *

Improved Administration

IN an editorial suggesting ways and means of improving China's Government administration, the *Ta Kung Pao* stressed the need to adopt democratic principles and offered the following advice: "The fundamental reason why Government circles are so dejected and administrative efficiency is so low at the present time is that one's meritorious services are not rewarded, and one's crimes are not punished, and that everything is decided by one's personal relations. In a word, in order to remedy this situation, the rule of law must be restored.

"As to corruption, there are certainly objective conditions for it. If we want to eliminate corruption today, we must first accord the civil servants reasonable treatment. Next, we must try to prevent members of the favored families and high Government officials from achieving their selfish ends in the name of the Government . . . Candidates for various grades of responsible officials in charge of Government finances and State-operated enterprises should be nominated by the Government and approved by the legislative or public opinion agencies. This is the democratic way of doing things. We must also depend upon democratic practices for increasing our administrative efficiency and eliminating corruption. Let us follow the path of democracy, which is the only course whereby China can be saved today."

* * *

Japan Peace Treaty

THE Chinese press is becoming increasingly aware of the importance of the Japanese peace treaty in relation to China's economic and political future. "China is just as anxious as the United States to see the Japanese peace treaty concluded at an early date but why is it that this desire of China and the United States has not yet been realized?" asked the *Shun Pao*. "Quite obviously, this is due to the differences between the United States and Soviet Russia. We have more than once expressed our dissatisfaction with Soviet Russia's policy of procrastination which has prevented the convocation of the peace conference on Japan. At the same time, we cannot completely approve the United States policy towards the Far East . . .

"General MacArthur has consistently been lenient towards Japan, in fact, he has almost been conniving with Japan. This is likely to lead to another catastrophe in the Far East and is a serious threat to the peace and security of China . . . Certain people in the United States feel that she should build up Japan with the hope of making Japan the stabilizing force in the Far East. This view is diametrically opposed to the United States' wartime desire to consider China as the stabilizing force in the Far East. If the United States should forget the bloody lesson taught by Pearl Harbor, should look upon an enemy as a friend, and should cooperate with Japan, then a great tragedy would be immediately enacted in the Far East," the *Shun Pao* declared.

NEW BOOKS OF INTEREST

Hollywood

FREEDOM OF THE MOVIES: *A Report of Self-Regulation From The Commission on Freedom of The Press by Ruth Inglis. Published by The University of Chicago Press, Chicago,* 1947. 241 *pp.* US$3.00. *Reviewed by M. B.*

HOLLYWOOD probably generates more knowledge and more ignorance than almost any other American institution. Its razzle dazzle has thrown out such a smoke screen that, while the names and faces of its stars are billed far and wide, not one person in a thousand knows anything about the movie industry itself—how movies are produced, distributed and exhibited, and the complicated financial and structural mechanism behind the scenes. Hollywood is synonomous with entertainment, and the economic and social aspects of the industry are largely obscured.

The literature in this field is limited. One of the best heretofore produced is Leo C. Risten's *Hollywood, The Movie Colony, The Movie Makers,* in which Miss Inglis collaborated. Her subsequent research, first independently for a doctoral dissertation, and later under the aegis of the Commission on Freedom of the Press, which sponsored the study under review, makes her one of the few informed laymen.

In this authoritative study, which is an offspring of the Commission's general survey of mass media in the United States, Miss Inglis sets out to determine whether the motion picture industry, as it is presently organized, can reach its fullest artistic and social potentialities. What causes the all too prevalent stereotyped and insignificant product we see on the screen? How can Hollywood, beset on all sides by pressure groups, steer an intelligent course between the forces of social change and conservatism? Does the present system of self-regulation stultify free expression?

To answer these questions, Miss Inglis traces the history and development of motion pictures from the time when films were made in a day for around US$500 and signs in theaters read, "Please do not stamp, the floor may cave in," to their present gigantic status.

The pattern of present day films was laid during the first world war, when the movies began to come into their own in the entertainment field. Audiences paid more to see features instead of shorts. Films became more standardized to appeal to mass groups. "Formula" pictures were evolved so that patrons would know what to expect from "Problem drama, action pictures, westerns, shockers or comedies." Moviegoers remembered their favorite actors, and the "star system" was initiated. Advertising fanfare promoted new pictures.

At the same time, a mote developed in the public eye that was now turned toward the movies. Pressure groups protested against any unfavorable portrayal of their interests in the movies. One motion picture executive complained that he was unable to "have any kind of villain unless he were a native born, white, American citizen, without a job and without any political, social, religious, or fraternal affiliations of any kind." Other, moralistic, pressure groups began to campaign vigorously for restrictive legislation to improve the moral content of the movies.

Hollywood's answer to the growing threat of censorship was self-regulation, and Miss Inglis outlines the industry's efforts in this direction, from the formation of the National Board of Review to the organization of the Motion Picture Producers and Distributors of America, under the direction of Will H. Hays. It took the Hays Office 10 years to achieve effective self-regulation, however, and that came only after the Catholic sponsored Legion of Decency had threatened a widespread consumer boycott.

The Motion Picture Association of America, Inc., as it is now called under the direction of Eric Johnston, exercises its control through the Production Code Administration, which reviews, regulates and passes judgment on the films; the Advertising Code Administration, which supervises advertising; and the Motion Picture Export Association, which handles problems of foreign distribution.

Miss Inglis thinks, on the whole, movie self-regulation is efficiently handled and intelligently administered. However, in order to appreciate her views on its shortcomings, it is necessary to examine briefly her picture of the economic organization of the industry.

Five "major" companies not only produce, but also distribute films and exhibit them in their own theaters. Three other "majors" do not engage in exhibition themselves, but have access to theaters owned by the Big Five and cooperate with them. Since 1933, the Department of Justice has been conducting an anti-trust suit against these companies to make it impossible for one company to engage in all three activities. In addition, there are the "independent satellites" who produce their own films, but depend on the "majors" for distribution outlets, and the "minors" who produce low budget films and lack theater outlets of their own. Along with this economic concentration have developed such trade practices as block booking, the leasing of groups of films, and blind buying, the leasing of films sight unseen. By means of these and allied trade practices it has been claimed that the "majors" through their distributors have been able to control both independent production and exhibition.

Small companies have complained, too, that although they are virtually forced to abide by the rules of the Motion Picture Production Code in order to exhibit their pictures, the administration is controlled by the "majors" and they do not have sufficient voice. The Commission recommends that the government limit the monopoly powers of the industry to provide genuine economic competition. From the standpoint of improved self-regulation, Miss Inglis believes that the lifting of economic coercion will make this regulation truly voluntary and will bring local community controls more into play.

To the question of self-regulation as an answer to Hollywood's problems, therefore, Miss Inglis gives a "qualified yes." While she regards absolute freedom as impossible of achievement, and censorship as undesirable, she points out that self-regulation places control in the hands of a few people who are not accountable to the public. It has been criticized as being "too narrowly moralistic and too closely related to the immediate expediency of the motion picture industry." And, as a self-protective device, it falls far short of a positive program to raise the level of the movies.

Improvement of films, Miss Inglis feels, is dependent in the last analysis on raising the level of public taste. In this, together with improved self-regulation on the part of the movies themselves, lies the solution. To this end, Miss Inglis offers the following recommendations:

The movie industry should rise above its "timid, protective and fearful" attitude toward criticism and give it all possible encouragement for the long range good.

A National Advisory Board composed of independent citizens should be created to review administration codes and be a clearing house for criticism and suggestions.

The industry should sponsor, and if necessary subsidize films for specialized audiences as an "experimental proving ground for new ideas and new film techniques."

As for freedom of the movies, Miss Inglis believes there is no danger of its abridgment if the industry faces its responsibilities. "If the screen has something to say," she states, "the movies will win many new influential friends who will rise to protect its right to speak."

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10.18	8.48	9.49	11.08	13.04	14.36	15.26	0.27	1.13	1.55	D SOOCHOW A	12.59	14.19	16.17	17.23		20.58	4.32	5.19	7.04	15.09
11.10	9.36	10.45	11.57	13.55	15.35	16.14	1.22	2.08	2.50	A D WUSIH	12.11	13.24	15.14	16.29	19.35	20.10	3.39	4.26	6.00	14.10
	9.42		12.06	14.02		16.23	1.29	2.15	3.00	D A	12.04	13.18	15.0-	16.21		30.03	3.33	4.19		
	10.31		12.59	15.03		17.09	2.27	3.13	4.05	A D CHANGCHOW D	11.17	12.22	14.05	15.20		19.16	2.35	3.30		
	10.40		13.08	15.15		17.19	2.37	3.25	4.13	D A	11.06	12.09	13.55	15.08		19.06	2.24	3.20		
	11.38		14.00	16.13			3.56	4.29	5.16	A D TANYANG D		11.09	12.41	14.05		18.12	1.07	2.03		
	11.41		14.03	16.17			4.00	4.33	5.20	D A		11.05	12.37	13.55		18.03	1.02	2.00		
	12.18		14.40	17.01		18.46	4.46	5.18	6.02	A D CHINKIANG D	9.32	10.28	11.44	13.07		17.23	0.09	1.07		
	12.25		14.45	17.17		18.53	4.55	5.27	6.09	D WEST A	9.24	10.21	11.38	12.59		17.15	23.56	1.00		
	13.55		16.10	18.50		20.20	6.30	7.15	7.50	A NANKING D	8.00	9.00	10.00	11.00		15.45	22.00	23.00		

FARE LIST

STATIONS	Kilo.	I Class Ordinary Express		II Class Ordinary Express		III Class Ordinary Express		"Triumph" Express, Nanking & Hangchow Through Expresses I	"Triumph" Express, Nanking & Hangchow Through Expresses II	"Tai Hu" Express
SHANGHAI N. TO:—										
KUNSHAN	52	16,000.	24,000.	8,000.	12,000.	4,000.	6,000.			
SOOCHOW	87	24,000.	32,000.	12,000.	16,000.	6,000.	8,000.	78,000.	46,000.	78,000.
WUSIH	129	40,000.	48,000.	20,000.	24,000.	10,000.	12,000.	78,000.	46,000.	86,000.
CHANGCHOW	168	48,000.	64,000.	24,000.	32,000.	12,000.	16,000.	78,000.	46,000.	
TANYANG	213	64,000.	80,000.	32,000.	40,000.	16,000.	20,000.	96,000.	56,000.	
CHINKIANG WEST	243	72,000.	88,000.	36,000.	44,000.	18,000.	22,000.	106,000.	62,000.	
NANKING	312	72,000.	88,000.	36,000.	44,000.	18,000.	22,000.	106,000.	62,000.	

SHANGHAI-HANGCHOW LINE
TIME TABLE

23	21	61	67	25	1	41	27	TRAIN NO.	24	42	2	68	26	22	62	28
I, II III Exp.	West Lake Exp.	II, III Ord.	IV Mixed	I, II III Exp.	I, II H'chow Throu. Exp.	II, III Ord.	I, II III Exp.	STATIONS	I, II III Exp.	II, III Ord.	I, II N'king Throu. Exp.	IV Mixed	I, II III Exp.	West Lake Exp.	II, III IV Ord.	I, II III Exp.
6.45	8.00	8.15		11.30	16.09	16.15	22.45	D SHANGHAI NORTH A	9.15	12.15	12.35		18.55	20.05	22.30	23.30
7.05	8.16	8.36	9.00	11.53	16.19	16.36	23.06	D SHANGHAI WEST D	8.58	11.55	12.20	17.20	18.37	19.49	22.13	23.12
7.49		9.46	10.29	12.38	17.03	17.46	23.50	A D	7.51	10.44	11.26	15.29	17.48		21.00	22.16
7.54		9.56	10.40	12.43	17.08	17.51	23.55	D SUNGKIANG A	7.47	10.38	11.21	15.22	17.39		20.54	22.11
9.02	10.02	11.40	12.50	13.50	18.16	19.23	1.06	A D	6.35	9.04	10.13	13.10	16.20	17.54	19.25	21.00
9.16	10.08	11.50	13.15	13.58	18.26	19.33	1.16	D KASHING A	6.28	8.55	10.04	12.45	16.11	17.47	19.12	20.50
10.00		12.33	14.52	14.32	19.01	20.16	1.50	D YEHZAH D	5.56	8.14	9.31	11.53	15.39		18.29	20.18
10.31		13.18	15.56	15.04	19.32	21.01	2.21	A D CHANGAN-	5.23	7.27	8.58	10.40	15.06		17.42	19.34
10.36		13.26	16.10	15.11	19.37	21.06	2.26	D TSENG A	5.19	7.22	8.54	10.27	15.02		17.37	19.27
11.30	11.55	14.45	18.10	16.20	20.30	22.20	3.25	A HANGCHOW D	4.25	6.10	8.00	8.30	14.00	16.00	16.25	18.25

FARE LIST

STATIONS	Kilo.	I Class Ordinary Express		II Class Ordinary Express		III Class Ordinary Express		"Triumph" Express, Nanking & Hangchow Through Expresses I	"Triumph" Express, Nanking & Hangchow Through Expresses II	"West Lake" Express
SHANGHAI N. TO:—										
SUNGKIANG	45	16,000.	24,000.	8,000.	12,000.	4,000.	6,000	78,000.	46,000.	
KASHING	99	32,000.	40,000.	16,000.	20,000.	8,000.	10,000.	78,000.	46,000.	78,000.
YEHZAH	126	40,000.	48,000.	20,000.	24,000.	10,000.	12,000.	78,000.	46,000.	
CHANGANTSENG	151	48,000.	64,000.	24,000.	32,000.	12,000.	16,000.	78,000.	46,000.	
HANGCHOW	190	48,000.	64,000.	24,000.	32,000.	12,000.	16,000.	78,000.	46,000.	86,000.

NANKING-SHANGHAI RAILWAY SYSTEM ADMINISTRATION

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